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The Legend of Longinus in Ecclesiastical Tradition and in English Literature, and its connection with the Grail

A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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PREFACE

The present study was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in October, 1910, in fulfilment of a requirement made of candidates for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The object of the dissertation is, in the main, to investigate anew the origin of the legend of Longinus in ecclesiastical and popular tradition, and to trace its use in mediæval English literature, as has already been done in the field of French literature by Carl Kröner.

In following the course of the Longinus legend I have thought best not to confine attention solely to literary documents, but to include also some account of the part which it played in art and in the liturgy, for the reason that its importance in both these connections undoubtedly contributed to its development in literature, and perhaps even determined to some extent its literary form.

Moreover, though the present study has been undertaken primarily from the standpoint of English literature, I have ventured to discuss, in the last two chapters, special problems relating to the literary influence of Longinus which lie wholly outside of that field. The first of these is the resemblance, first pointed out by Bugge, between the Longinus story and the slaying of Baldr. The second is the relationship which exists between the lance of the Crucifixion and the bleeding lance of the Grail romances. These two chapters, though distinctly in the nature of *excursus,* deal, after all, with phases of the Longinus legend which are of general literary importance. They appear, therefore, to have legitimate place in a study

which treats of the significance of the Longinus theme in the literature of the Middle Ages.

I wish to express my hearty thanks to Miss Dorothy Kempe for helpful suggestions; to Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Pepysian Librarian of Magdalene College, Cambridge, for repeated kindnesses, and to Prof. W. H. Hulme, of Western Reserve University, for most generously allowing me to make use of his unpublished notes on the Longinus legend. I have attempted to make acknowledgment in my notes for these special indebtednesses. To Prof. Carleton Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, in particular, I am under many obligations. He first suggested to me the subject of this investigation, and he has aided me in the various stages of my work by supplying numerous references, by criticising the manuscript of the dissertation, and finally by carefully going over the proof sheets.

I am also indebted for courteous treatment and assistance, especially in the manuscript departments, to the librarians of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Cambridge University Library, and for many kindnesses to the libraries of Columbia University, Bryn Mawr College and Vassar College.

R. J. P.

Vassar College,
April, 1911.

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THE LEGEND OF LONGINUS

INTRODUCTION

The literature and art of the Middle Ages found no more popular subject for treatment than the Christian legend of Longinus, the blind soldier who pierced the side of the Crucified and regained his sight through the blood that touched his eyes, who thereupon believed in Christ, and finally, after many adventures, suffered martyrdom. Being an ecclesiastical legend, it found a place, of course, in the martyrologies and festials of the church. But it is not on the side of hagiography that the story assumed its chief importance. Through the interest which it awakened in the popular imagination, the legend extended its influence outside this special province and found its way into literature. These two phases of its appeal are well illustrated by the two dissertations which the legend has called forth. The first of these, written more than two centuries ago by G. H. Goetze (*Dissertatio inauguralis de Centurione sub cruce Christi,* Lipsiae, 1698), deals with the Longinus legend exclusively from the standpoint of religious history, and attempts to establish the authenticity of the miracle connected with the Crucifixion. Since it contributes nothing to our knowledge of the origin of the legend and does not discuss its use in literature, it is here negligible. The second, by Carl Kröner, *Die Longinuslegende, ihre Entstehung und Ausbreitung in der franzö-*

sischen Litteratur,[1] is a serious examination of the early history of the legend and of its occurrence in French literature.

If Kröner's discussion of the early forms of the Longinus legend had been more comprehensive, it would not be necessary to take up again the question of its origin. But the growth of a legend in the Middle Ages is a much more complex matter than is recognized in the method followed by Kröner. Though the legend, in rather widely differing forms, appears in several apocryphal documents, he examines only one, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. He gives no intimation that the name of the spearman was not always Longinus. He contents himself with the consideration of two Longinuses; though, in the first six centuries, the records show no fewer than a dozen martyrs bearing this name, whose lives perhaps contributed something to the development of the story. He fails to note the history of the lance as a relic and its place in the early liturgy. Nor does he suggest by more than a single sentence the prominence of Longinus in mediæval iconography, and the influence this popularity must have exerted on the spread and growth of the legend.

Though Kröner's treatment of the second part of his subject—the use of the Longinus legend in French literature—concerns less closely those who approach the examination of the story from the special point of view of English literature, it should perhaps be stated that even here he has not been exhaustive. He confines his attention mainly to the presence of the legend in the romances. He cites twenty in which mention of Longinus occurs; but he might have included in his list as many more.[2] Moreover,

[1] Münster dissertation, 1899.

[2] Cf. E. Langlois, *Table des Noms Propres compris dans les Chansons de Geste*, 1904.

he does not point out the importance of the lance of Longinus to the crusading romances, nor does he hint at its presence in the Grail cycle[3]—a connection which perhaps more than any other one thing makes the examination of the legend worth while to modern students. Furthermore, Kröner gives only one example, and that without comment, of the appearance of Longinus in that queer manifestation of mediæval scientific ignorance—the charm. He considers the use of the legend in the drama, but not at all its presence in the liturgical literature that preceded the drama, nor in contemporary religious non-dramatic productions. Nor does he comment on what has been considered a possible Norse parallel to the Longinus legend.

Besides these dissertations, there have appeared numerous notes on the Longinus legend. Of these the most inclusive is that by Dr. Hulme, who, in his introduction to the *Harrowing of Hell*, discusses the legends that seem to trace their origin to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. He refers to the story of the blind Longinus as one of the most interesting of these, and comments on the strong influence it exerted on both the literature and the art of the Middle Ages. He calls attention to its relationship to the early literature of Scandinavia, and to its importance in the Grail romances.[4]

Longinus has been more or less fully considered also by the various writers on the Grail cycle. The most recent of these, indeed, Professor A. C. L. Brown, takes as his

[3] E. Freymond, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der rom. Phil.*, VIII, p. 269. "C. Kröner hat in seiner Dissertation, . . . aus Nationalepen u. anderen Dichtungen verschiedener Art oft bedeutungslose Stellen über Longin gesammelt; er bringt auch Dinge (so S. 52 f.) die zu seinem Thema gar nicht gehören, gedenkt aber nicht mit einem Worte der Rolle, die die Lanze des Longinus in der Gralsage spielt."

[4] *EETS.*, e. s. 100, pp. lxviii-lxix.

point of departure[5] the bleeding lance, often spoken of in the Grail romances as the lance of Longinus, though that there was any original connection between the two he absolutely denies.

It seems worth while, then, notwithstanding the work already done on the subject, to consider again the origin and development of the legend. In addition, the present study undertakes to trace the course of the Longinus story in English literature. This apocryphal martyr is interesting to the student of the Middle Ages, on the one hand, as showing how slight a foundation in fact was necessary to the growth of a much-handled tale; and on the other, and chiefly, as indicating how writers of all classes unhesitatingly availed themselves of a popular legend, in many cases with no attempt at embellishment or enlargement.

5 *PMLA.*, March, 1910.

CHAPTER I

THE BIBLE AND ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITION

In seeking the origin of a saint's legend, which purports to date back to the time of Christ, one begins naturally by scrutinizing all available Christian records, both those sanctioned by the Church, and those not so recognized. Such an investigation, however, in the case of St. Longinus discloses little to authenticate his existence as a contemporary of Jesus. The beginnings of his story abound in confusion and contradiction. His legend was slow in forming and bears every mark of having been manufactured.

The dictionary-makers and compilers of popular modern martyrologies[1] give a stereotyped form of the legend without accounting for its origin. They tell us that there is no trustworthy authority for the acts and martyrdom of St. Longinus, that he was introduced to the West by the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and that his name probably derives from a Latinized form of the Greek λόγχη, a spear. They add that the centurion who exclaimed at the earthquake and believed in Jesus, as recorded by Matthew and Mark,[2] has been confused with the soldier who, according to John,[3] pierced his side. The Roman Church celebrates the soldier Longinus on the fifteenth of March, and the Greek, the centurion Longinus on the sixteenth of October. These writers state, moreover, that Longinus was blind; that when he pierced

[1] Baring-Gould, Brewer, Larousse, Mrs. Jameson, etc.
[2] Matthew XXVII, 54; Mark XV, 39.
[3] John XIX, 34.

the side of Christ, the blood ran down the spear to his hands; that he touched his eyes and regained his sight. He then went into Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and preached for a number of years, making many converts. He suffered martyrdom under Octavius.

§1. Longinus in the Apocrypha

In the canonical Gospels, though both the soldier and the centurion appear in the accounts of the Crucifixion, the incidents related of them are wholly unlike, and there is not the slightest indication that they are to be identified as the same person. The conversion of the centurion is related, in fairly similar form, by Matthew and Mark. The text of Matthew reads: "Centurio autem, et qui cum eo erant, custodientes Jesum, viso terrae motu et his quae fiebant, timuerant valde, dicentes: *Vere Filius Dei erat iste.*" John, on the other hand, though he says nothing of the centurion, gives the only account of the soldier who pierced the side of Christ: "Sed unus militum lancea latus Domini perforavit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua."

Nor is there in the earliest of the apocryphal Gospels an identification of the centurion with the soldier who pierced the side of Jesus. The *Gospel of Peter*,[4] of especial interest because of its probable early date, omits all mention of the piercing of Christ's side, and consequently of the soldier, merely stating that the Jews, in order to prolong the torments of Christ, commanded that his legs should not be broken. The only thing that suggests the piercing of the side, is the statement in the account of the mocking of Jesus: "Others pierced him with a

[4] *The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter*, ed. by H. B. Swete, 1893. According to Swete (p. xiii), the date is not later than 170, nor earlier than 150; Harnack assigns the fragment to the years 110—130; Dobschutz to the second century.

reed."[5] But this is probably drawn directly from Matthew's reference to the Jews' smiting Jesus with a reed.

With the centurion, however, the case is otherwise. He is given a name, though it is not Longinus; and he is converted, though not by an earthquake, as in Matthew:

"But the Scribes and Pharisees and Elders, being assembled together and hearing that the whole people murmured . . . were afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him and saying, 'Deliver to us soldiers that we may guard His sepulchre for three days, lest His disciples come and steal Him away, and the people suppose that He is risen from the dead, and do Him mischief.' So Pilate delivered unto them Petronius the centurion with soldiers to guard the tomb. . . . Now in the night, when the Lord's Day was drawing on, as the soldiers kept guard by two and two in a watch, there was a great voice in heaven, and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descend from thence with much light, and draw nigh unto the tomb. And the stone which had been cast at the door rolled away of itself and made way in part, and the tomb was opened, and both the young men entered in. The soldiers, therefore, when they saw it, awakened the centurion and the Elders (for they were also there keeping watch); and as they had told the things that they had seen, again they saw three men coming forth from the tomb, two of them supporting the other, and a cross following them; and the head of the two reached to heaven, but that of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens, saying, Thou didst preach to them that sleep; and a response was heard from the cross, Yea. . . . When they saw this, they of the centurion's company hastened by night to Pilate . . . and told all that they had seen, greatly distressed, and saying, 'Truly he was the Son of God.'"[6]

The next apocryphal account that is connected with our story is of great importance, in that it is usually given as its source. Here for the first time appears the name Longinus, and here we find it applied to both soldier

[5] *Gosp. of Peter*, p. 25.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

and centurion. In the *Acta Pilati*,[7] Chapter XVI (Cod. A of Tischendorf), the name Longinus—with slightly varied spelling, it is to be noted—is applied to the soldier (Λογγῖμος ὁ στρατιώτης),[8] whereas in Chapter XI (a later text, Cod. B) it is applied to the centurion (Λογγῖμος ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος).[9] In the Latin text, Chapter X, the name is given the soldier: "Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam aperuit latus eius."[10] Though the same name is employed for both,[11] the two stories are not otherwise confused. Except the addition of the name, the soldier's story has acquired nothing not already found in John. The centurion is converted to belief in Christ by the marvels that accompanied the crucifixion.

A third apocryphal account, the *Letter of Pilate to Herod*,[12] likewise calls the centurion Longinus, but adds little more to his story:

"And my wife Procla, having believed on account of the visions which appeared to her while I was hesitating to deliver Jesus up through thy counsel, when thou sentest that I should deliver him to the people of Israel, because of the ill-will they had, she having heard that Jesus was risen, and had appeared in Galilee, left me; and took with her Longinus the faithful centurion, and twelve soldiers, the same that had watched at the sepulchre.

7 More frequently referred to as the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. According to Dobschutz (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1900), it belongs to the fourth (fifth) century.

8 Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, XVI, 283.

9 *Ibid.*, XI, 309.

10 *Ibid.*, X, 362.

11 Lipsius, *Die Pilatus Acten*, p. 38, calls attention to this confusion.

12 M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* II (*Texts and Studies* ed. J. A. Robinson, V) 1897, p. xlviii: "The date which we may assign to the Letters can not be an early one. . . . On the other hand, they are found in a MS of the sixth or seventh century in Syriac; and they may quite well be a couple of centuries older than that." Cf. B. H. Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 389. The *Letters of Pilate to Herod* "are forgeries; produced perhaps about A. D. 400."

. . . And whilst they were standing and wondering and gazing at him, he, conscious of it, looked at them and talked to them and said, 'What is it? Do you still not believe me, Procla and Longinus?' . . . And my wife, Procla, having heard him say these things, and the centurion Longinus who was trusted to watch over the sufferings of Jesus, and the soldiers who journeyed with her, weeping and groaning, came and announced to me these things."[13]

Herod's *Epistle to Pilate*, preserving yet another apocryphal tradition, gives a description of the death of Longinus which is wholly different from that found later in the martyrologies:

"Now in the same hour, the angel of the Lord, having laid hold of the head of Longinus, who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear, took him beyond the Jordan to a desert place; and bringing him further to a cave, stretched him on the ground on his face. And a lion was so stationed as to come forth at evening and to consume the body until morning. And in the morning the lion goeth away, and again his body groweth again. And he suffereth this punishment until the coming of the Lord, Jesus Christ."[14]

In this account Longinus, it will be observed, figures simply as the hated executioner who is punished for his wicked deed. We appear, therefore, to be dealing with an early stage of the legend before the story of his conversion and martyrdom had been added.

These apocryphal accounts would indicate that there were two distinct characters, the soldier and the centurion; the one merely a wicked participator in the cruci-

[13] J. de Q. Donehoo, *Apocryphal and Legendary Life of Christ*, p. 491; cf. James, *op. cit.*, p. 71, and Cowper, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[14] Donehoo, *op. cit.*, p. 496. As to this *Epistle*, James (*op. cit.*, p. xlvii, xlviii) remarks: "The amusing story about Longinus, which is appended to Herod's letter, comes from another hand. Longinus is seen in it, not as the converted centurion, who is a saint and martyr of the church, but as the hard-hearted Roman soldier who carried out the sentence of crucifixion. It may represent a local legend of Palestine. The punishment is modelled on that of Tityus or Prometheus."

fixion, and the other a convert to belief in Jesus, who at once became a prominent supporter of his faith. The use of the same name for both is difficult to explain, and probably means that the two stories were already to some extent confused.

§2. Testimony of the Fathers

The testimony of the early church Fathers confirms, in a measure, the indications of two different persons of distinct characteristics. Chrysostom shows clearly that a story of the martyrdom of the centurion was current in his time, though not fully accepted. However, he gives him no name:

"Et centurio quoque Deum tunc glorificavit dicens: 'Vere hic homo justus erat'. Et turbae quae venerant ad spectandum, percutientes pectora sua revertebantur (Luc, 23, 47-48). Tanta est virtus Crucifixi, ut post tot irrisiones et dicteria, et Centurio et populus compungerentur. Quidam vero narrant hunc centurionem postea in fide roboratum martyrium fortiter subiisse."[15]

On the other hand, according to Chrysostom, the soldier who pierced the body of Christ is still the wicked executioner:

"Alia quoque praedicto finem accipit. Venientes enim milites aliorum fregerunt crura, Christi non item. Attamen hi in gratiam Judaeorum ejus latus lancea perforarunt, et mortuo corpori contumeliam inferunt. O scelestum et execrandum facinus! Sed ne turberis, ne dejiciaris, dilecte. Nam quae mala illi voluntate faciebant, veritatem propugnabant. Prophetia namque erat, videbunt in quem transfixerunt. Neque hoc tantum; sed etiam iis qui infideles ut Thomae et ipsi similibus. Ad haec etiam mysterium ineffabile consummabatur. Exivit enim, sanguis et aqua."[16]

The centurion's story grows by slight accretions; he is next assigned to a definite locality. Gregory of Nyssa

[15] Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum Homil.* LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, *Patrol. Graec.* LVIII, col. 177.

[16] *Homil.* LXXXIV. *Op. cit.*, LIX, col. 463.

is quoted by Zacagni as authority for the statement that the centurion Longinus became the first bishop of Cæsarea.[17] In the *Manuale* (a pseudo-Augustinian production), there is reference to Longinus. It adds nothing, however, of information: "Longinus aperuit mihi latus Christi, lancea et ego intravi, et ibi requiesco securus."[18]

Though the fathers of the early church afford us little information so far as the development of the incidents of the legend is concerned, they supply important testimony to the significance which theologians already attached to the deed of Longinus. One may trace an ever growing tendency to give a mystical meaning to the wounding of Christ on the Cross. This inclination is to be observed as early as Ambrose, who declares: "quando de latere ejus aqua fluxit et sanguis, quo laetificavit animas universorum, quia illo flumine lavit peccatum totius mundi."[19] Likewise Augustine says: "Dormienti Adæ fit Eva de latere (Gen. II, 21): mortuo Christo lancea percutitur latus (Joan XIX, 34) ut profluant sacramenta quibus formetur Ecclesia."[20] The same parallel is drawn again in the *Passio Petri et Pauli:* "Ut sicut ex costa Adæ fabricata est Eva, sic ex latere Christi in cruce positi fabricaretur ecclesia quæ non haberet maculam neque rugam."[21] It is evident that from this tendency toward a symbolistic inter-

17 Zacagni, *Collectanea monumentorum veterum*, 1698, p. 391. Ex hoc Nysseni loco discimus Longinum Centurionem, qui lancea Christi latus in cruce perfodit, primum Caesareae episcopum fuisse. Zacagni gives no reference to Gregory. I have not been able to find the passage referred to. Cf. Douhet, *Dict. des Légendes de Christianisme*. (Migne, *Encyc. Théol.* ser. III) supp. vol. 14. Cf. Kröner, *op. cit.* p. 17.

18 Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XL, col. 961.

19 Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* XIV, col. 1194.

20 Migne, XXXV, col. 1463.

21 Lipsius and Bonnet, *Passio Sanc. Apost. Petri et Pauli*, p. 127.

pretation of the piercing of Christ with the spear, Longinus himself must benefit. His act must be explained in some new way. May this idea have suggested the motive for the conversion of the soldier?

§3. Martyrologies, Earlier and Later

After searching for information about a legend connected with the crucifixion, in the apocrypha and in the writings of the church Fathers, one obviously turns to the martyrologies. The early martyrologies, their contents and histories, have been carefully examined by modern scholars. Those given by Harnack and Achelis for the first centuries are: (1) *Die Depositio Martyrum des Chronographen vom Jahre* 354, which, Achelis says, "Ist der älteste erhaltene Heiligenkalender, und die Quelle aller abendländischen Kalender, soweit dieselben Römische Märtyrer aufnehmen;" (2) *Das Martyrologium Karthaginiense Mabillons;* (3) *Das Martyrologium Syriacum.* In none of these does Longinus appear. It is true that these, as they now exist, are incomplete. The first, the *Depositio,* is fragmentary, containing only twenty-two days in all. Moreover, it is chiefly local in character, the saints celebrated being for the most part of Rome or its vicinity. The martyrology of Carthage, which Mabillon found in 1682,[22] does not include the whole year: beginning with the nineteenth of April, it extends to the sixteenth of February, thus omitting part of February, all of March,[23] and part of April. The

[22] Found on the cover of a MS in the library of the Abbey of Cluny. Mabillon dated it seventh cent.; cf. Achelis, *Die Mart. ihre Geschichte u. ihr Wert* (Abhandlungen d. königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissen. z. Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Kl. N. F., Band III, Nro. 3, pp. 18, 19).

[23] It is to be noted that the feast of S. Longinus is usually the 15 March.

Syriac Martyrology[24] does not contain Longinus in its list of saints, but there is a Longinus of Mashkĕnâ in the list of presbyters.[25]

The next martyrology is that which goes under the name of Jerome. Achelis says: "Die Passionen des *M[artyrologium]* *H[ieronymianum]* bilden nämlich das Bindeglied zwischen den Kalendern der alten Kirche und der nächsten Generation dieser Litteraturgattung,"[26] Here the reference to Longinus is brief enough: *Idus Martius: In Cappadocia S. Longini Martyris.*[27] Achelis, in his Calendar of Jerome, gives two dates: "In Cappadocien Longinus am id. mart. und 10. kal. dec."[28] In discussing this and other cases of similar confusion, he says: "Ich kann nicht untersuchen, ob in einzelnen Fällen wirklich zwei Märtyrer desselben Namens in derselben Stadt existiert haben, wenn ich mich nicht ins Endlose verlieren will."[29] Achelis speaks of the martyrology as a compilation made in the fifth and sixth centuries.[30]

Jerome's entry does not indicate whether the centurion or the soldier is meant. From the fact that later the soldier's Feast is on the fifteenth of March, and the centurion's, on the sixteenth of October, it seems probable that the Longinus here referred to is the soldier. The two entries for Cappadocia may be merely a mistake, but taken in connection with the confusion of name in the *Acta Pilati*, it may indicate that the two stories were already confused, and that the soldier had acquired connection with Cappadocia from the centurion.

[24] W. Wright, *An Ancient Syrian Martyrology (Journal of Sacred Literature*, III (New Series) 1866.) Wright does not fix the date; he says the MS was transcribed A. D. 412 and it is not much older than the MS. (p. 53.)

[25] *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

[26] Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[27] *Oper.* S. Hieronymus, Edit. Veron. (1742) t. XI, 486; Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* XXX, col. 462.

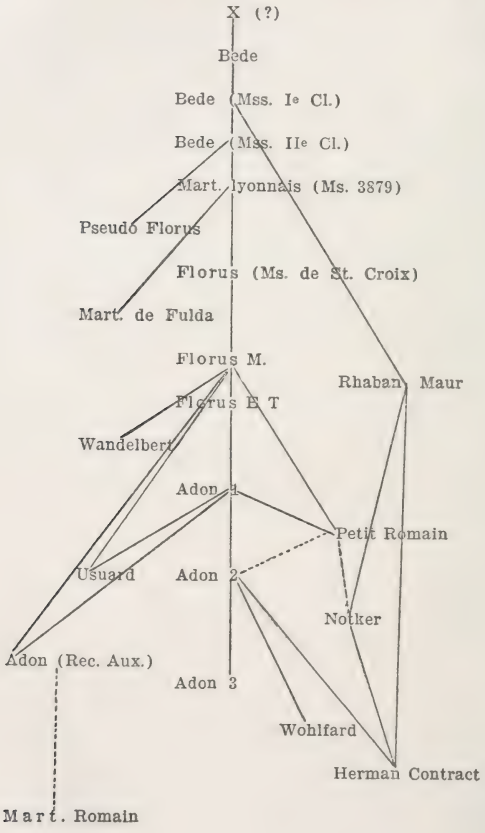
[28] Achelis, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[30] *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

Instead of considering separately the various martyrologies of the Middle Ages,[31] in all of which Longi-

[31] Henri Quentin, *Les Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1908, p. 683, shows clearly their relationship by the following diagram:



nus appears, I shall call attention only to typical forms indicating the development of the legend. In the first group, which belongs to the eighth and ninth centuries, there is definite evidence of the confusion of the story of the soldier with that of the centurion. The soldier Longinus has here borrowed from the centurion's story the incident of the conversion by the miracles which accompanied the Crucifixion and also that of the martyrdom in Cappadocia. The blinding of the cruel judge, a stock episode in the legends of saints, has also been added.

The life of St. Longinus is the same in Bede,[32] Rhabanus Maurus, and Notker,[33] and differs only slightly in Ado[34] and Usuardus.[35] The text of Rhabanus Maurus, as printed in Migne, "*ex codice MS. monasterii S. Galli,*" is as follows:

Id. Martii: In Cappadocia passio sancti Longini martyris: de quo in libello martyrii ejus narratur quod aliquando militans sub centurione Romano, in passione Domini latus ejus cum lancea in cruce aperiret, et viso terræmotu et signis quae fiebant, crediderit in Christum, poenitentiam agens de operibus suis pristinis: postea monachus factus per triginta et quatuor annos Christo militavit, multos convertens ad fidem Dei; ad extremum vero martyrizavit in Cappadocia sub Octavio praeside, quem, propter infidelitatem suam divino judicio percussum corporea caecitate, post martyrium suum illuminavit.[36]

[32] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, XCIV, col. 859, Editio Coloniensis. Idus Martii Cappadocia, S. Long. Mart.; also Edit. Bolland. 15 Idibus Cappadocia.

[33] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CXXXI, col. 1055, Id. Mart. in Cappa. S. Longini martyris: qui cum in passione, etc.

[34] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CXXIII, col. 167, and col. 343, Sept. 1, apud Caesaream Cappadociae, Longini militis et martyris, qui latus Dom., etc.

[35] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CXXIV, col. 843, Mar. 15. In Caesarea Cappa.; passio sancti Longini qui latus Dom., etc.

[36] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* CX, col. 1135.

Bede and Notker differ from Rhabanus Maurus only in making the years of service thirty-eight instead of thirty-four.[37]

The tenth-century versions are found in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists. They give both the acts of the soldier and those of the centurion. The two stories have developed along different lines. The legend of the soldier retains the conversion by miracles, which is found also in the centurion's story. Both also serve in Cappadocia. The legend of Longinus adds, however, still other incidents more or less common to saints' lives. The Bollandists print their life of Longinus *ex pluribus pervetustis MSS.* However, so far as I can discover, none of these MSS is older than the tenth century.[38]

The life of the soldier printed by the Bollandists is too long to quote in full. In substance it runs as fol-

[37] Here should be added the Irish Martyrologies, which are not included in the table. *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (about 800 A. D.), Whitley Stokes, 1905, makes brief mention of Longinus:

X cal. Novembris (p. 218).

Escomlud Longini dond rígflaith as díxu: geguin, gním as úaisliu, tóeb án álaind Issu.

"The departure of Longinus to the Kingdom that is highest; he wounded—deed that is noblest!—Jesus' splendid delightful side."

Cf. *Oengus*, p. 226. Notice also *Martyrology of Gorman*, W. Stokes, 1895. (By an Irish abbot, latter part of the twelfth cent.)

15 Mar.

Longinus or gonad
Crist i croich do chrúadgha
Ba col cen a choemna.

"Longinus by whose cruel spear Christ was wounded on the cross: 'twas a sin without (any) defence thereof."

[38] In the *Analecta Bollandia*, where MSS containing the Longinus story are cited, several are mentioned as edited in the *Acta Sanctorum*, March II, pp. 384-386 (which includes the *Acta S. Longinii Militis.*) These are: (1) Civit. Carnotensis, cod. 144, saec. X, 777 Passio Sancti Longini Martyris die XXII mensis

lows: Longinus, a soldier sent by Pilate, pierced the side of Christ, and when he saw the sun obscured and the earth quake, believed in Jesus Christ and exclaimed with a loud voice: *Vere filius Dei est hic.* He was instructed by the apostles, and went into Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where he led a quiet life twenty-eight years, converting many. When word of his success came to Octavius, the emperor sent for Longinus, and asked him who he was. Longinus responded, "*Christianus sum.*" Asked his province, he answered "Isauria." When asked if he was free, he replied that he had been a slave to sin, but had been released by the mercy of Christ. Octavius urged him to worship the Roman gods, but Longinus responded that his God was one of sobriety and righteousness, but those of Octavius were gods of iniquity, and that he could not serve two masters. Though Octavius had Longinus's tongue cut out, and his teeth knocked out, Longinus continued to speak. Longinus cast devils out of idols and broke their altars. Recognizing Longinus, the devils confessed that they knew his God to be the true one. When asked why they had chosen such resting-places, they gave as a reason that those idols had never been blessed, nor had they had the sign of the cross made on them. Many of the people believed; but Octavius, whose heart the devil had corrupted, accused Longinus of having used magic arts. Aphrodisius told Octavius that Longinus

novembris, hoc est X Kalendarum decembris (fol. 260r-261v), t. VIII, p. 134. (2) Civit. Carnotensis, cod. 204, 29[a]; here the day is given as *idus Martii*, t. VIII, p. 184. (3) Bibl. Publ. et Acad. Gandavensis, cod. 245 (writing XII and XIII cent.), pp. 198-203, t. III, p. 179. (4) De *Magno Legendario Austriaco*, S. Longini Mart., var. MSS. Exemplar Sancrucense, XIII saec.; Exempl. Campilliense, XV saec.; Exempl. Admuntense, XIII saec., t. XVII, p. 50. (5) Bibl. Publ. Civit. et Acad. Leodiensis, cod. 58, XIV saec. (?) (fol. 152v-154r), t. V, p. 339. (6) Bibl. privatae Caesarea Austriaci, cod. 9394, XV saec. (fol. 148-9), t. XIV, p. 259.

was right and his God the true one, and in consequence Aphrodisius's tongue was cut out. Thereupon, at the prayer of Longinus, the Lord punished Octavius by striking him blind. After Longinus had suffered martyrdom, Octavius repented and received his sight.[39]

The life of the centurion Longinus, printed by the Bollandists, is professedly taken from Hesychius.[40] Tillemont comments with irony on the statement made by the Bollandists that all the Greek lives of Longinus are drawn from Hesychius, and especially that that of Metaphrastes has Hesychius as its source; he expresses absolute doubt, saying it is a history that contains few facts and many words in the style of Metaphrastes.[41]

The Greek story as found in Hesychius and Metaphrastes is as follows: Longinus, the centurion, is sent to serve at the sepulchre of Christ. He believes in Jesus through wonders, renounces his military service, and with two companions retires to his father's home at Tyania in Cappadocia. There he is beheaded by messengers of Pilate, and his head is taken by them to Jerusalem, where it is thrown outside into a refuse heap. A blind woman comes to Jerusalem from Cappadocia with her only son. Her son dies, and she mourns her misfortune. Longinus appears to her, and tells her that if she will find and bury his head, he will bring her son to glory. She does so, and is rewarded with sight, and a vision of

[39] *Acta SS.* 15 Mart. t. II, 384-86. Cf. *Bibl. Hagiog. Latina*, Brussels, 1900-1901.

[40] *Acta SS.* Mart. II, 736-39, (MS Vatic. 1190). *Patrol. Gr.* XCIII, 1545-60; cf. Metaphrastes, *Patrol. Gr.* CXV, 31, (MS Paris 774). Cf. *Bibl. Hagiog. Graeca*, Brussels, 1895.

[41] Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir a L'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1693, I, note XXXVIII, p. 477 ff.

her son with Longinus in heaven. She buries her son and Longinus's head together.[42]

A curious variant of the last part of this story is found in MS. Paris 797, from which it is printed by the Bollandists. This account runs as follows: A widow, Christina by name, was possessed by a wicked spirit, which tore her cruelly. Longinus appeared to her without his head, and told her to go to Jerusalem, to the house of the Prefect Lucian, to seek the head of Longinus the centurion, and to replace it with his body; saying that if she did so, she should be made well and her son should be taken into his military service. Christina started on her way. When she came to the tomb of the saint, she cried out, and a voice told her that Christ would be her helper. She obtained the head from Lucian, the Prefect, for which she paid him two hundred denarii. She and her son took the head to the tomb, which opened with a great light. After the youth had replaced the head, it was as if it had never been cut off.

Longinus appeared to Christina that night, told her she should have her health restored, and asked her to choose which she preferred for her son—earthly or heavenly service.[43] She chose heavenly service. The next

[42] Cf. *Le Synaxaire Arabe Jacobite*, 5th Hatour (1st Nov.) (*Patrol. Orientalis*, pub. and trans. by Rene Basset, III, Fasc. 3, 252). The story differs slightly: the soldier, who had borne the order, brought the head to Jerusalem, and gave it to Pilate, who showed it to the Jews, thus rejoicing them, and had it interred in a "*monticule*" outside Jerusalem. After some time a woman of Cappadocia who had become a Christian through the preaching of Longinus, and who had wept when he was decapitated, became blind by design of God. She went to Jerusalem to pray at the sacred monument in the hope of regaining her sight, etc.

[43] Cf. G. H. Gerould, on the Eustace Legend, *PMLA.*, XIX, 351. He traces to Armenian legend the choice given man between good fortune in youth and good fortune in age. Eustace chooses between trial in this life and sorrow in the next; Sir

day, accordingly, Longinus appeared to the son in the vineyard, and told him to follow his name, Christian, and be a soldier of Christ. Notwithstanding her choice, when the mother found her son dead, she was overcome with grief. She was comforted, however, by an angel. She then went to Paphnutius, the bishop of Tyania, and told him her story. They buried the son with Longinus. In a vision Christina was shown her son in heaven with Longinus. After a life of service, she died and was buried in the tomb of Longinus.

That this story of the head was important in the East, is shown by the fact that in the Oriental church the finding of the head of Longinus is celebrated on a separate day. Two days are given in the calendar: 23 Abib (July) *Certamen sancti Longini Cappadocis Centurionis qui latus Christi lancea transfodit Caesareae sub Tiberio imperatore,*[44] and the 5 Hatur (November) *Inventio, Capitis Sancti Longini militis, qui Christi latus aperuit.*[45] The two feast days were later probably joined, just as were the two festivals of the Exaltation and of the Invention of the Cross, also originally two distinct feasts.

From the martyrologies, too, one would conclude that the story of the centurion developed first. The legend of the soldier was enlarged by additions from the story of the centurion. It is to be noted that even so late as the tenth century, the martyrologies give no suggestion of the blindness of Longinus himself, though he is concerned in the healing of others who are blind—the judge certainly, and perhaps also the widow. Of the two types

Ysumbras between poverty and woe in youth and in old age; Der Graf von Savoien between eternal sorrow and earthly woe for ten years.

[44] Mai, *Coptic Martyrologium*, Codex Arab. Bibl. Vat. LXIII, 18.

[45] *Ibid.*, Codex 62. Cf. Assemani, *Bibl. Med. Cat. Flor.*, Flor. 1742, p. 164. *Arabic Martyrology*, 185, XXIII Abibo, S. Longini.

of the story of the "invention" of the head, it seems likely that the earlier was the Christina story, and that at first the woman was possessed by a demon, but that afterward, through the influence of the story of the soldier, her trouble took the form of blindness, a disease that would be peculiarly suitable for Longinus to heal.

Even as late as the thirteenth century the *Legenda Aurea* speaks with some doubt of the blindness of Longinus.[46] Since this is the version usually referred to as the source of the Longinus story in the Middle Ages, I quote the text in full:

Longinus fuit quidam centurio, qui cum aliis militibus cruci domini adstans jussu Pylati latus domini lancea perforavit et videns signa, quae fiebant, solem scilicet obscuratum et terrae motum in Christum credidit. Maxime ex eo, ut quidam dicunt, quod cum ex infirmitate vel senectute oculi ejus caligassent, de sanguine Christi per lanceam decurrente fortuito oculos suos tetigit et protinus clare vidit. Unde renuntians militiæ et ab apostolis instructus in Caesaria Capadociae viginti octo annis monasticam vitam duxit et verbo et exemplo ad fidem multos convertit. Cum autem a praeside tentus fuisset et sacrificare nollet, jussit praeses omnes dentes ejus excuti et linguam abscidi, Longinus tamen ex hoc loquelam non perdidit, sed accepta securi omnia ydola comminuit et fregit dicens: si dii sunt, videbimus. Daemones autem de ydolis exeuntes in praesidem et in omnes socios ejus intraverunt et insanientes et latrantes se Longini pedibus prostraverunt et ait Longinus daemonibus: cur habitatis in ydolis? Qui responderunt: ubi Christus non nominatur et ejus signum non est positum, ibi est habitatio nostra, Cum ergo praeses insaniret et oculos amisisset, dixit ei Longinus; scito quia sanari non poteris, nisi quando ne occideris; quam cito enim a te mortuus fuero, pro te orabo et sanitatem tibi corporis et animae impetrabo. Et statim eum decollari jussit; post hoc abiit ad corpus ejus et prostratus cum lacrimis poenitentiam egit; et continuo visum recepit et sanitatem et in bonis operibus vitam finivit.[47]

[46] The blindness was shown in art by the eighth or ninth century. Cf. p. 48.

[47] Voragine, ed. Graesse, 3d, 1890, cap. XLVII, 202.

§4. Other Writers

Other means for distributing the story of Longinus that were probably no less influential than the martyrologies are to be noted. Such writers as Petrus Comestor in the twelfth century, Vincent de Beauvais in the thirteenth, and Cardinal Bonaventura and Ludolphus de Saxonia in the fourteenth, all include Longinus, giving the story of his miraculous healing in connection with the history of the passion of Christ; and sometimes, as in the case of Vincent, adding also the sufferings and martyrdom of St. Longinus.[48]

The first of these accounts, that in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, is very brief; indeed, the name of Longinus is not mentioned. There are, supplementing the gospel account of the piercing of the side

[48] Numerous unpublished martyrologies also exist, which contain the story of Longinus. As far as I have examined them, I have found no new type of the legend. A few of these are: Bibl. Bodl. Catol. Codd. Graeci. Codicis Miscell. No. 137 (XI sæc.) which includes Longinus in the Martyrology for October. The story follows the Metaphrastes version. Cf. also Trin. Coll. Cambr. MS 210 (sæc. XI?), no. 13, fol. 92; Trin. Coll. Cambr. MS 198 (XII-XIII sæc.) no. 11, fol. 77; and British Mus. Addit. MS 36654, A. D. 1103, no. 13. Besides these Greek texts, there are: Rawl. MS C. 440 (sæc. XII exeuntis), no. 15, fol. 176^{b}, Passio S. Longini martyris, which follows the Bollandist centurion type; MS Vespasian B. 10, fol. 21^{b}; Harl. 2802, Passionale, (1464), Longini no. 285; Harl. 3545, *Legendarium Sanctorum* (XV cent.) fol. 272; Addit. 6524, French (XIV cent.) fol. 51^{b}. A few others make Longinus the soldier; in Arundell MS 330 (XIV sæc.), he is a soldier, though not blind, and his ministry follows the usual form; in Sloan MS (XIV sæc.) no. 2478, fol. 10^{b}, his blindness is healed, but the account is condensed; in Trin. Coll. Cambr. 316 (B. 14, 31) (XV cent.) no. 24, his blindness is healed, his ministry and martyrdom follow the usual types. Cf. also Cambr. Univ. K. K. 1.22 MS (early XIV cent.), Martyrologium, and MS Liturg. Bodl. 333 (1468), Longinus 15 Mar. the usual soldier type.

of Jesus, a few words referring to the cure of the soldier's blindness: "et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidam, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare videt."[49]

In his *Speculum Historiale,* Vincent, under *De Vulnere domini lateris,* in his gloss cites Comestor, and in his text quotes from Comestor the passage given above. To the extract he adds the following: "Ex gestis eius Protinus illuminatus in Christus credidit. Unde militie cedens instructus ab apostolis: in Cesarea Capadocie XXXVIII annis monachicam vitam duxit & in omni sanctitate permanens verbo & exemplo plurimos ad Christum conuertit."[50] In his next chapter Vincent gives the life of Longinus, *De Martyrio eiusdem longini militis.* It is unnecessary to quote this, since it follows closely the form of the story found in the Bollandist acts of the soldier.

In the *Meditationes vitae Christi,* found in the earlier editions of St. Bonaventura's works,[51] but no longer thought to be of his composition,[52] reference to the legend of Longinus appears in the form of a lament of the Virgin. With John, the Magdalen, and her sisters, Mary stands under the Cross lamenting. With a great noise wicked

[49] Migne, *Patr.* CXCVIII cols., 1633, 1634.

[50] Lib. VII, cap. XLVI.

[51] *Sancti Bonaventurae . . . Opera,* London, 1668.

[52] Dr. H. Traver considers Cardinal Bonaventura of Padua to be the author. For discussion of her authorities, see *The Four Daughters of God,* Bryn Mawr, 1907, p. 41, note 2. The question of authorship appears to be unsettled. Peltier (*Bonaventurae Opera,* Parisiis, Besançon, 1864-71, XII, p. xlii) holds that the work is not that of the "seraphic doctor," nor that of Bonaventura of Padua, but of a Franciscan of San Gimignano in Tuscany or the neighborhood, perhaps Joannes de Caulibus. Cf. also L. F. Powell, introductory note to *Nicholas Love's Mirrour of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,* Oxford, 1908.

men come and break the bones of the thieves. When they turn to Jesus, Mary implores them to have mercy, telling them that Jesus is already dead, but "unus autem Longinus nomine, tunc impius, & superbus, sed post conuersus, & martyr, & sanctus, porrigens lanceam de longe, eorum preces, & rogamina contemnens, latus Domine Jesu dextrum vulnere grandi aperuit & exiuit sanguis & aqua." Mary then faints in the arms of the Magdalen and her companions.

This treatise was enormously popular in the Middle Ages. Thien comments on the fact that it was translated into Swedish, Danish, Italian, Catalan and Middle English.[53] It was of great importance in English literature, being translated more than once. There is also a metrical English version.[54]

The passage quoted above from the *Meditationes* ascribed to Bonaventura reappears almost word for word in the *Vita Jesu Christi* by Ludolphus of Saxonia. Oddly enough, the addition made by Ludolphus to this passage reproduces precisely the second extract already quoted from Vincent de Beauvais. Though he gives marginal references to his authorities, Ludolphus makes no acknowledgment of indebtedness to Bonaventura[55] or to Vincent. This treatise by Ludolphus also forms the basis of a Middle English life of Christ, and consequently is of special interest.

[53] *Uber die Englischen Marienklagen*, p. 11.

[54] Cf. pp. 107, 108.

[55] Miss Traver, *op. cit.*, 45, who takes Bonaventura of Padua to be the author of the *Meditationes*, thinks Ludolphus depended on Bonaventura. If Joannes de Caulibus is the author of the *Meditationes*, the question of dependence becomes more difficult—since the only date given for Joannes is 1376, (see Chevalier, *Rép. des Sources Hist. du Moyen Age*, who follows Wadding), and Ludolphus died in 1378.

The writers last mentioned add nothing to the development of the legend. Looking back over the accounts which precede them, we see that the record furnished by pseudo-ecclesiastical history is unsatisfactory. We learn from it that apocryphal details were attaching themselves to the story of the centurion as early as the second century; that the name Longinus was applied to both soldier and centurion in the fourth century; that accounts of the ministry and martyrdom of the centurion also came into the tradition in the fourth century, and were recorded in the martyrologies in the fifth, or sixth, century (Jerome); that between the sixth and ninth centuries there was little growth—the cruel judge struck with blindness being the only addition; that by the tenth century there were two stories, one concerning the centurion, and one, the soldier, and that the two were evidently already confused, containing, as they both do, the incidents of conversion by earthquake, and service and martyrdom in Cappadocia; and finally that even as late as the thirteenth century, the church accounts express doubt on the subject of the blindness—the episode in the story that appealed most strongly to the people of the time.

The first question that suggests itself after going through this mass of narration is, how did the centurion and soldier become confused? It is probable that the soldier who pierced the side of Jesus was first one of the soldiers who served under the centurion at the crucifixion, and who guarded the tomb. In the incident of the *vere filius Dei*, originally ascribed to the centurion, gradually the soldiers under the centurion came to share, and finally, as the one soldier assumed greater prominence, it was transferred to him alone. The stories were more and more confused. Sometimes the soldier, sometimes the centurion

is called Longinus; sometimes it was the centurion and again it was the soldier, who pierced the side of Christ.

But there are other difficulties. How did the name Longinus originate? Why did the legend of the soldier become the more popular, absorbing as it did incidents from the life of the centurion? It is to be noticed that the incidents not so appropriated—such as the widow healed of her blindness, and the Christina story—never got into literature at all.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGEND OF LONGINUS A FICTITIOUS NARRATIVE

Ecclesiastical history, by its inconsistencies and by its reluctance to accept certain popular features of the story of Longinus, such as that of his blindness, shows that other legend-forming forces were at work, and that the accounts found in the martyrologies record only the results—vague but more or less final—of this myth-working process. That the legend of Longinus is fictitious is shown by the examination (1) of his name and (2) of his acts, or his life as saint and martyr.

§1. Name

Before considering the possible source of the name Longinus—the name which was finally attached definitely to the saint and which appears in all literary applications of the legend—we may note the fact that other names formerly existed for the centurion and for the soldier. Reference has already been made to the name Petronius[1] used

[1] A. Stülcken, in an article on the Gospel of Peter in *Handbuch zu den Neutest. Apocryphen*, Edgar Hennecke, 1904, p. 84, remarks: "Der Hauptmann der Grabeswache hat einen Namen bekommen: Petronius; die spätere Legende nennt ihn Longinus. Diese—in einem Fragment, das die Namen Jesus, Golgotha, usw. nicht nennt—auffällige Genauigkeit im Detail weist nicht auf Tradition, sondern auf das Bestreben, den Mangel an Tradition durch scheinbar intime Kenntnis zu verdecken: der Hauptmann, der nachher selber Zeuge der Auferstehung wird, muss auch schon im apologetischen Interesse möglichst genau bezeichnet werden. Der Name ist wohl in Anklang an 'Petrus' gewählt."

for the centurion in the *Gospel of Peter*. There is also a more or less indefinite tradition that confuses the soldier who pierced the side of Christ and the centurion who was converted at the crucifixion, with that other centurion who appeared as witness in the examination of Jesus before Pilate. "Post haec quidam centurio dixit, Ego in Capharnaum vidi Jesum et rogavi cum dicens Domine, puer meus, iacet paralyticus in domo. Et dixit mihi Jesus, Vade, et sicut credidisti fiat tibi. Et sanatus est puer ex illa hora."[2] The name of this centurion, according to Fabricius,[3] was C. Oppius; he was a Spaniard, the son of Caius Cornelius and the father of C. Oppius, both of whom were also centurions. He was the first of all the Gentiles who, after the death of Christ, was baptized by the Apostle Barnabas. He afterwards became the third bishop of Milan. It is to be noted in this connection that some authorities state that Longinus, who pierced the side of Christ, was known before his conversion as Cassius.[4] Profillet calls the centurion Saint Ctesiphon (or, without explanation, "Abenadar, le centurion du Calvaire"). He had been ordained bishop at Rome, according to Profillet, and was sent to preach the word in Spain.[5] Bede calls the soldier Legorrius.[6] Xavier says the name should be Inatius or Ignatius.[7] Again, Neale, recently and without

2 Tischendorf. Latin *Gesta Pilati*, chap. VIII.

3 Fabricius, II (1832), note, p. 982.

4 J. E. Städler, *Heiligen Lexicon*, states that the name of the soldier Longinus before his conversion was Cassius. Profillet, *Les Saints Militaires* (15 Mar.), says that Cassius, afterwards called Longinus, was second in command among the guards at the cross.

5 Profillet, *Les Saints Militaires*, under 15 May. He says Ctesiphon can not be identified by history.

6 *Collectaneis Append.* III; cf. Douhet, *Dict. des legendes du Christianisme*, Migne, *Encyc. Theol.* ser. III, supp. vol. LIV.

7 P. Xavier, *Historica Christi Persice*, 1639, pars. III, 489.

mentioning his source, says: "Not many illustrious prelates have adorned this see (Caesarea of Cappadocia): . . . its first bishop is said to have been Saint Primianus, better known by the name of Longinus, the soldier who pierced the Saviour's side with his spear.[8] Still a different form of the name—though in this case only a corruption of Longinus—appears in a late vernacular version of Nicodemus's Gospel cited by Thilo: "And then the Jews commanded that a knight should be brought forth, whose name was Logenious; and this Logenious was blind, etc."[9] Of the same sort is probably the "Longimus" in some of the Greek texts of Nicodemus.[10]

It is hardly worth while to pause over these names; except as furnishing further evidence, if more were needed, as to the contradictions that abound in regard to the life of our saint, they are not of interest. The name by which he is always known in literature is Longinus. The explanation generally offered is that the spearman derives his name from the Greek λόγχη, *lance*, used in John (XIX, 34): "Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit."[11]

This account of the name seems entirely probable; such origins are not uncommon. Reiffenberg mentions others:

[8] J. M. Neale, *Hist. Holy Eastern Church*, 1850, pp. 31, 32.

[9] Thilo. *Codex Apoc. Novi Testam.* 1832, p. cxlv.

[10] Cf. p. 8.

[11] J. Spiegelius, Prudentius *Cathemerinon* (note on *vulnus*, p. 85): "Auditi aliud magis ridiculum, in Joannis Evangelio legitur—Nostri Theologi, sive sono vocabuli Graeci decepti, ubi apud Graecos λόγχη, id est lancea scriptum est, crediderunt percussorem illum Longinum esse appellatum; & ita in illum hoc nomine exclamantes invehunter, sive divini verbi semiantores Longinum proprio nomine milite illum appellant. Non miror si nos ridemus: quoniam & diabolum ipsum & illum que isti dicunt Longinum, puto, si talia audiunt, maximos risus excitare."

"Nous savons qu'un jeu de mots a souvent produit des effets surprenants, que Saint Longin, Sainte Véronique, Saint Architriclin, doivent leur existence à des équivoques, a une espèce de *calembourg* produits par l'ignorance, que des équivoques ont déterminé les offices de beaucoup d'autres."[12]

Though the name Longinus may easily have arisen thus through the mere blunder of a translator, another possible explanation must also be considered. In the Pseudo-Linus *Passio Sancti Pauli Apostoli,* the three soldiers who conduct Paul to the place of his martyrdom, are converted by him on the way. He directs them to go the next morning to the place where his body lies and tells them they will find there two men, Titus and Luke, who will baptize them. These soldiers are known as Longinus, Megistus, and Acestus.[13] It has been suggested more than once that the name Longinus was first connected with the soldier converted at the execution of Paul, and that it was afterwards transferred to the centurion (soldier) converted at the crucifixion of Christ.[14]

The date of the Paul story, as told in the Pseudo-Linus *Passio,* would not be against such a theory. The *Passio* is a fragment and belongs, according to Lipsius and Batiffol,[15] to the fifth or sixth century. But accord-

[12] *Chevalier au Cygne*, p. xciv. Cf. H. Etienne, *Apologie pour Hérodote*, Lyons, 1592, p. 573 ff.

[13] Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Lipsiae, 1891. Pars Prior, pp. 30, 32, 37, 39, 42, 113. Also Grk. pp. 114, 115, 116.

[14] Cf. Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung die nordischen Götter und Heldensagen*, German trans., O. Brenner, p. 39. Dr. Hulme, in unpublished notes which he has kindly allowed me to use, likewise makes this suggestion.

[15] P. Batiffol, *Vigoroux Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1895. Acts of Peter and Paul. R. A. Lipsius, *Die Apocryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, II (1887), 113.

ing to Lipsius, the Pseudo-Linus has as source Greek *Acta*, fragments of which, independent of the Pseudo-Linus, occur elsewhere. Lipsius sees in these acts a Gnostic work of the second half of the second century. He thinks it possible to recognize traces of this primitive source in the Pseudo-Linus as it now exists. That he considers the Paul-Longinus episode a part of the early acts, he shows in his discussion of the use made by Chrysostom of these earlier acts. In speaking of the version used by Chrysostom, he says: "Der von Paulus bekehrte Kerkenmeister, ist wol eine Reminiscenz an die Geschichte des Pseudo-Linus von der Bekehrung der Präfecten Longinus und Megistus und des Centurio Cestus oder Acestus . . . . denen Nero die Bewachung des Gefangenen und die Vollstreckung des Todesurtheils überträgt."[16]

It is certainly possible that the writer of the *Acta Pilati* story of the centurion (in this case it could not be the soldier who pierced the side of Christ, for, in the *Acta Pilati*, the soldier is not converted) may simply have transferred the name Longinus from some such story as this of Paul, which offers the parallel of the conversion of an attendant by the death of a martyr. The question, however, can hardly be settled conclusively without more evidence. A fact that must also be taken into account is that, according to the Greek text, the name of the soldier who guarded St. Paul, was not Longinus, but Λογγος.

§2. The Acts or Life of Longinus

If this multiplicity of names does not speak well for the historical origin of Saint Longinus, the number of Longinuses who have suffered martyrdom does not lessen the

[16] *Ibid.*, II, 246.

confusion. It has already been shown that the soldier and the centurion[17] have been confused. It seems not impossible that incidents from the lives of other martyrs also contributed to the growing story. In Migne's *Dictionnaire Hagiographique,* eight martyrs bearing the name appear, the last in the sixth century. In the *Petits Bollandistes,* there are also eight, two of whom differ from those in the Migne list. Baronius mentions eleven Longinuses; Chevalier, eight; and John of Ephesus, one not included by either Baronius or Chevalier. Some of these derive from our Longinus story; others perhaps had independent origin and were absorbed by it.

I enumerate only the most interesting of these martyrs:

(1) The Longinus associated with Paul, to whom reference has already been made.

(2) Saint Longinus, soldier and martyr at Marseilles, who, with two others, guarded Saint Victor in prison. All three guards were converted by the miraculous light that illuminated the prison in the night. Victor took them to the sea and baptized them. After they had refused to sacrifice to the gods, Maximian, who was at Marseilles, ordered them to be punished with death. They were decapitated the 21 July, A. D. 290.[18] Maury tells us that the facts of the life of Saint Victor of Marseilles are drawn from those of Christ. Victor, in his opinion, represents Christ triumphant, victorious; he adds: "Ces gardes sont au nombre de trois, nombre mystique qu'on supposait au moyen âge avoir été celui des gardes de Jésus.

17 And possibly a second centurion; cf. p. 28.

18 Migne, *Dict. Hagiog.; Petits Bollandistes;* Chevalier; Ruinart, *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta,* XI, p. 297; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Ecclésiastique,* 1701, IV, p. 551.

L'un d'eux se nomme Longin, comme un de ceux du Christ."[19]

(3) St. Longinus, who suffered martyrdom at Caesarea in Cappadocia with S. Aphrodisius, honored by the Greeks 1 September.[20] The Bollandists take this to be the Longinus who pierced the side of Christ. As various days are given by different churches for the celebration of St. Longinus, this identification is entirely probable.[21]

(4) St. Longinus, a soldier, who suffered martyrdom at Satales in Armenia, with ten brothers, soldiers like himself. Emperor Maximian, because they refused to sacrifice to the gods, deprived them of military rank, and exiled them to various places, where they died in misery. They are honored 24 June. Here the name of the place, Satales, is similar to that often given as the home of Longinus who pierced the side of Christ.[22]

(5) Saint Longinus, who suffered martyrdom with Saint Eusebius and many others. They were beheaded after suffering cruel torments, during the persecution of Diocletian, and are celebrated 24 April. The names and also the place and date of martyrdom of this group vary greatly. *Acta Sanctorum,* 24 April, gives as martyred in Nicodemia in 303: Eusebius, Neonis, Leontius, Longinus and four others. Baronius gives a very similar list as martyred in Perga in Pamphilia in

[19] A. Maury, *Croyances et Légendes du Moyen Age,* 1896, p. 112.

[20] *Dict. Hagiog.;* Bollandists, *Acta. SS.* 1 Sept.

[21] *Acta. SS.* 1 Sept.

[22] This place-name varies greatly. Tillemont gives *Adrales* or *Sandrales,* near Tyania in Cappadocia; a Greek MS of the XI cent. (MS Bodl. Misc. 137) gives *Sandiale;* Hesychius, *Sandrales.* On the other hand, in the Bollandist Latin Acts, Longinus when questioned says his home is in *Isauria* in Asia Minor. In *Christus Patiens,* he is from the *Ansonians.*

305: Leontius, Actius, Alexander and six others, and also Leontius with Eusebius, Neone, and Longinus; also in Lycia: Theodorus, Oceanus, Ammonianus, Julianus.[23] But in 308, under Constantine, Baronius has this list of Martyrs: Theodorus, Oceanus, Ammianus, Julianus, Caritine, Eusebius, Neon, Leontius, Longinus.[24] That a whole group of martyrs should thus be assigned to varying years and places, indicates how easily such stories grew. That this Longinus was confused with the soldier of the crucifixion, the Bollandists show in their discussion: "Michael monachus, canonicus Capuanus, parte 4 Sanctuarii Capuani, edidit quatuor Kalendaria Sanctorum, qui Capuae fuerunt in veneratione; & in horum Kal. tertio. Thesauri dicto, atque in quarto ejus Codicis, qui est ordinarium totius anni, proponitur memoria S. Longini Martyris: proponitur memoria S. Longini Martyris: in tertio etiam dicitur celebrari festum cum tribus lectionibus. An occasione S. Longini Socii SS. Eusebii, Neonis & Leontii Martyrum sit introducta dicta memoria, nescimus. At lectiones esse de Longino, qui latus Christi aperuit, & exclamavit, *Vere filius Dei est iste,* annotat Michael. Ista vero sunt duorum, quorum alter Longinus miles, alter Longinus Centurio fuit."[25]

(6) John of Ephesus gives an account of Longinus (A. D. 568), chaplain to Pope Theodosius, and missionary to Nubia, in which the following suggestive incident appears. When Longinus went from the Nubians to the Alodaei, he had to pass through the unfriendly land of

23 *Annales Ecclésiast.* III, 398.

24 *Op. cit.*, p. 455.

25 Cf. J. E. Städler, *Heiligen Lexikon*, S. Longinus (24 Apr.) ein Märtyrer in Nikomedia, dessen Haupt in Capua verehrt wird, und den Einige irrig für den hl. Seiteneröffner Longinus halten, was wohl auch anderswo geschah."

the Maporitae, "and when their King heard that Longinus had started on his journey, Satan in his envy stirred him up to set watchers in all the passes of his kingdom on the roads, both in the mountains and in the plains, as far as the Sea of Weeds, in hopes of arresting Longinus, and so hindering the salvation of the powerful people of the Alodaei. *But God preserved him, and blinded the eyes of those who wanted to seize him;* and he passed through them, and went on his way and they saw him not."[26] The parallel here seen, though slight, is perhaps worth noting; the enemies of Longinus are blinded by God, just as the cruel judge who is persecuting Longinus is blinded.

Several facts in the complete Longinus legend may have been derived from these varying accounts. First and most important, the name Longinus itself was possibly used for the guard of Paul before it was so employed for the centurion, sometimes the guard at the tomb, in the crucifixion story. If Bede's statement that the soldier's name was Legorrius be accepted as preserving ancient tradition, it may be that confusion arose because of the resemblance of the two names, or that some one, knowing the stories of the two soldiers—both miraculously converted by the spectacle of a martyr's death—attached unintentionally the name of one to the other. It is much more likely that Bede's name is a corruption, due to the lack of definite information about St. Longinus. However this may be, whether the name was first obtained by adoption or confusion, the supposed derivation of the word—its significance as spearman or lance-bearer—would be enough to make the attachment permanent. In addition to the name, the commanding of the saint to worship images may

[26] *Hist. of the Church*, trans. by R. Payne Smith, 1860, pp. 319, 320.

easily be obtained from these stories, as may also the blinding of the judge. Too much, however, must not be made of these resemblances, as many saints were commanded to worship idols, and it was not uncommon for God to interpose and punish those who were tormenting Christians.

Other evidence that the story of Longinus is manufactured, is found in related saints' legends, and in the conventional character of some of the incidents that enter into its making. Le Blant has called attention to some of these: "Il est évident que la pièce est supposée. On remarquera toutefois que l'auteur en a calqué le début sur des actes antiques dont elle reproduit en cet endroit la forme. J'y retrouve les expressions courantes *exhibere, vocare,* les interrogations relatives à la condition, à la patrie, et la réponse typique *Christianus sum.* C'est à raison de cette circonstance que je crois pouvoir relever ici plusieurs termes d'un récit manifestement apocryphe."[27] This response occurs in the earliest martyrology records. In Eusebius's *History of Martyrs in Palestine,*[28] Epiphanius replied in the same way to the governor. In the Coptic life of St. George, the same answer is found.[29] Eusebius records, too, that Romanus was condemned by the judge to be burned, but the sentence was altered by the Emperor Diocletian, and his tongue was cut out instead. Like Longinus, he preached without his tongue.[30] Romanus was also bidden to worship idols, paralleling in this another detail of the Longinus story. The cruel judge

[27] E. Le Blant, *Les Actes des Martyrs,* 1882, p. 147.

[28] Ed. Wm. Cureton, 1861, from Syriac MS Brit. Mus. 12150, A. D. 411.

[29] E. Amelineau, *Les Actes des Martyrs de L'Eglise Copte,* p. 241. The Coptic St. George was condemned by Gelasius in 494.

[30] Cureton, *op. cit.,* p. 8.

is found in all the accounts by Eusebius. J. A. Robinson, commenting on the Passion of S. Perpetua, says: "The old story was lacking in the one feature which characterizes so many of the fictitious narratives of martyrdoms, and to which the appellation 'Acta' more especially refers. There was no account of the prolonged controversy between the martyrs and the cruel or the kind-hearted judge."[31] The cruel judge appears in the Longinus story in the eighth and ninth century accounts.

§3. The Blindness

These related stories, though they throw light upon the sources of many of the details in the Longinus legend, do not account for the incident that became of utmost importance in the literary use of the story in the Middle Ages: viz., the blindness of Longinus and his miraculous healing by the blood of the crucified Christ.

Tillemont suggests as a possible explanation that the blindness grew out of the account given of Longinus in *Christus Patiens* "mal expliqué."[32] Though the man who pierced the side of Jesus is not called the centurion, the incident is much the same. When the stream of blood gushes from the side of Christ, the spearman, amazed, cries out, "Verily, this dead man is the son of God." He then falls before the cross, and anoints his head in the flowing stream, in order, as it seems, to have purification.[33] This explanation is no longer possible for the reason that

[31] J. A. Robinson, *The Passion of S. Perpetua*, 1891, p. 15. Robinson says the name of S. Perpetua is given in the Rom. Calendar of the fourth century. The MSS at present known are not earlier than the tenth century.

[32] *Mém. pour Servir a L'Hist. Ecclés.*, 1693, I, note xxxix.

[33] Ed. J. G. Brambes, 1885, ll. 1071-1115.

The old passion poem is not now thought to have been written in the fourth century by Gregory Nazienzen. Krumbacher says of it: "Das einzige uns erhaltene Drama der byzantinischen Zeit ist der gewöhnlich χριστὸς πάσχων (Christus patiens) betitelte Cento. Nachdem die Meinung, das Werk gehöre dem Gregor von Nazianz, allgemein aufgegeben ist, bleibt der Verfasser vorerst unermittelt; sicher ist nur, dass er in einer ganz späten zeit, warscheinlich im 11 oder 12 Jahrhundert lebte."[34]

C. Chabeneau, after quoting John XIX, 34-35—"Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua, Et qui videt, testimonium perhibuit, et verum est testimonium eius—comments: "L'Evangile ajoute: Et qui videt . . . Seraient-ce par hasard ces mots lus dans un texte corrompu et mal compris qui seraient la source première de la fable de l'aveugle Longis recouvrant miraculeusement la vue?"[35] Kröner accepts the conjecture of Chabeneau as a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, and attempts elaborately to show how the mistake probably occurred.[36] This explanation is ingenious, but hardly necessary. Moreover, there is no indication of such corruption in any available text.[37]

Kröner remarks further: "Eine dritte Ansicht ist die folgende: Longinus sei nicht blind gewesen, und wenn bei ihm von Blindheit die Rede sei, so sei diese doch nur

[34] *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 1891, p. 356. Kröner (*op. cit.*, p. 28), who is evidently unacquainted with criticism on the subject, cites *Christus Patiens* as the earliest literary treatment of the Longinus legend.

[35] *Revue des langues romanes*, 1888, IV, 405.

[36] Kröner, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[37] Cf. Wordsworth, *Novum Testamentum Nostri Jesu Christi Latine*, Oxonii, 1895, pp. 635, 636.

als eine geistige Blindheit aufzufassen. Longinus war ja in der That vor seiner Bekehrung blind, aber diese Blindheit ist dann identisch mit der Blindheit, der Finsternis des Heidentums. Nun, das klingt ja ganz schön, aber est ist doch sehr fragwürdig, ob man dem ungelehrten Volke soviel Verstand und Überlegung zutrauen darf, dass es in solcher Weise von einer 'geistigen Blindheit' 'sprechen konnte.'"[38] Notwithstanding Kröner's objection, it was common in the Middle Ages to speak of spiritual blindness in physical terms, and in more than one case confusion has resulted. Maury, though he does not mention Longinus in this connection, illustrates the point by numerous examples. "Un paien," he says, "un pécheur endurci a-t-il été illuminé des lumières de l'Évangile par la doctrine de Jésus, suivant le language figuré de la foi nouvelle, il a été guéri de son aveuglement. Cette confusion de l'expression métaphorique et du sens littéral a laissé, jusque dans un des premiers monuments de l'antiquité chrétienne, une trace irrécusable. Dans le récit de la conversion de Saint Paul, rapporté dans les Actes des Apôtres (Acts IX, 10, 18) aprés avoir dit que le saint apôtre, allant combattre la religion naissante, fut tout à coup éclairé par Dieu, illuminé par un trait de la divine clarté, on ajoute qu'à son arrivée a Damas, des écailles tombèrent de ses yeux qu'elles obscurcissaient et qu'il recouvra la vue. Or ici, dans cette circonstance, rien n'indique que Paul ait été aveugle, au contraire tout témoigne de sa parfaite vision. Évidemment, il y a là un fait ajouté après coup, par un légendaire ignorant qui aura pris au sens propre la clarté qui a illuminé l'apôtre, et qui, pour rendre le miracle plus

38 *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

frappant, aura supposé cette circonstance où se montrent tout à la fois son ignorance et sa fraude."[39]

Saint Odile was cured of blindness by baptism. The legend adds that the saint was blinded by "la folle superstition des Gentils."[40] Again: "Saint Vincent Ferrier rapporte en outre un miracle bien ridicule dont on grossissait encore de son temps toute cette fable des larrons. D'après ce théologien, le bon larron Dismas fut guéri de son aveuglement par la lumière, que l'ombre du Seigneur porta sur lui. Pierre Damien attribue simplement la conversion de ce même Dismas à une prière de la Vierge, qui reconnut en lui un de ceux entre les mains desquels elle était tombée en allant en Égypte. Il est aisé de voir que le fait rapporté par Saint Vincent Ferrier, doit sa naissance à la double acception du mot lumière, mot qui a été pris du sens figuré au sens physique."[41]

A similar confusion is seen in the Bohairic accounts of *The Falling Asleep of Mary*. When the Apostles were taking the body of Mary to burial, they were attacked by the Jews, who wished to burn the body:

"And the lawless Jews, when they approached the bier, a mist and a darkness came upon them; they became blind, and there was no one to lead them by the hand . . . even as the Holy Ghost said by the mouth of David the prophet in the eighty-first Psalm, 'They knew not, neither did they understand; they go in darkness' . . . Then they cried out, saying, woe to us, O our Master Christ, for we have sinned against heaven, and before thee. Forgive us, for we are children of Abraham. If Thou givest us the light of our eyes, we will know the glory of Thy Godhead, and we will believe on Thee and on Thy virgin mother; for she is our sister. Now when they said these things,

[39] *Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age*, pp. 154, 155.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

Christ was moved unto compassion for them, and set them free from their blindness and their error."[42]

The tendency in the Middle Ages was to make all symbolical representation real and literal. This was especially true of the Passion. The theological idea that no drop of the sacred blood was lost is shown in the pictures of the time by angels holding cups under the wounds. The idea that Christ overcame death may likewise be indicated by the representation of a skull at the foot of the cross.[43]

This same effort to make the symbolical tangible is shown in the change of qualities to people. "Le double sens d'un nom a souvent suffi. Ne pénétrant jamais au fond de la signification d'un mot, le peuple s'est souvent arrêté à sa signification apparente et les légendes nées de ces malentendus sont sans nombre. Il suffit de citer sainte Sophie, sainte Foy, sainte Espérance et sainte Charité qui, de vertues abstraites, sont devenues des saintes réelles. . . . L'église de S. Sophie fut consacrée par Constantin à la sagesse divine . . . Mais le peuple en fit une sainte et Constantinople prétendait en posséder le tombeau:

A la tombe saincte Souphye
Ki fu virgene de bonne vie. (*Roman de Mahomet*)

Le nom de S. Luce est formé du mot *lux*, lumière, et oeil

[42] Forbes Robinson, *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels, Texts and Studies*, vol. IV (1896), 119. From MS Vat. LXI. Robinson does not date the MS. He says the colophon following this piece gives the year 678 of the martyrs, but this date may belong to what follows instead of to what precedes. The other versions are printed from MSS that he does not date earlier than the tenth century.

[43] Cf. Maury, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

dans le style poétique. Cette étymologie explique pourquoi la croyance populaire disait qu'on avoit dans son martyre brûlé les yeux à cette sainte et pourquoi on l'invoquait pour les maux d'yeux."[44]

From these examples, it is easy to see how frequently in the case of a saint, physical blindness was established on no better evidence than that he had passed from darkness to light upon his conversion to belief in Christ. When one considers these specific illustrations of change from spiritual to physical blindness, in the light of the general tendency of the Middle Ages to make everything objective, to leave nothing without literal presentation, it is no longer difficult to account for the blindness of Longinus.

The healing of Longinus by blood is likewise not without parallel. Blindness was often healed by blood. In one of the stories in the *Seven Sages of Rome* (the tale of *Sapientes*) the king was blinded by heaven, in punishment for the bad government of the seven sages. By the advice of a child, the king decapitated the seven sages and regained his sight.[45] Saint Perpetua was healed of blindness by the blood of Paul. Saint Christopher blinded the judge who was causing his suffering by miraculously turning the arrow. The judge, following the advice of Christopher, anointed his eye with the blood shed by the martyr at the time of his death,[46] was cured and became a Christian.[47] In Lovelich's *History of the Holy Grail*,[48] Na-

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

[45] In the Mid. Engl. metrical version, vv. 2579-2774, Ed. K. Campbell, *Seven Sages of Rome*, 1907, pp. 88 ff. Cf. Campbell's remarks on this tale, p. c-ci.

[46] Lipsius and Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 213 ff.

[47] Furnivall, *Lives of the Saints*, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1858, p. 65.

[48] *EETS*, 1874, bk. II, ch. XVII, 218.

seiens looked on the Grail and was struck blind. He had his sight restored to him by anointing his eyes with the blood of the lance which had been in the side of Joseph of Arimathea.[49]

The idea of the efficacy of blood is a very old one. Cumont says: "The barbarous custom of allowing the blood of a victim slaughtered on a latticed platform to fall down upon the mystic lying in a pit below, was probably practiced in Asia from time immemorial. According to a widespread notion among primitive peoples, the blood is the vehicle of the vital energy, and the person who poured it upon his body and moistened his tongue with it, believed that he was thereby endowed with the courage and strength of the slaughtered animal.[50]

The legend of Longinus is then, beyond question, fictitious. Whether the name Longinus ultimately attached to the soldier connected with the crucifixion was borrowed from the soldier converted by Paul or not, it was evidently affected by its supposed derivation and so became permanent. The other facts of his story, including his blindness and his miraculous healing, are to be explained by the ordinary mediæval processes of narrative accretion.

[49] Other ailments besides blindness were healed by blood. Compare the well-known healing of the leprosy of Amiloun by the blood of the children of Amis (*Altengl. Bibl.* II, vv. 2221 ff.), which goes back ultimately to a story told of the Emperor Constantine, in the *Acta S. Sylvestri* (cf. Döllinger, *Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters*, p. 53 ff.) Constantine, stricken with leprosy, in order to be cured, must bathe in a pool filled with the blood of children. He gives up this proposed cure and is baptized under Bishop Silvester instead. The *Acta Sylvestri* is first mentioned in the Gelasian Decretal *De libris recipiendis et non recipiendis* (492-496 A. D.)

[50] *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. by T. J. McCormack, 1903, p. 180.

CHAPTER III

LONGINUS IN ART

The history of Longinus in art,[1] more definitely in some respects than the literature of the period, shows the hold which his story had on the mediæval imagination. Before the fourth century there is no mention in literature, it will be recalled, of the name of the spearman who pierced the side of Christ. In the group of martyrologies belonging to the eighth and ninth centuries the incident of the blindness is not included in the story; nor even in the later Bollandist version is it mentioned. Still more surprising is it to find the *Legenda Aurea,* as late as the thirteenth century, referring to the blindness with some reservation. Judged by its literature, clearly the Church was slow to add this element to the story. In early Christian art, on the other hand, the blindness of Longinus and his miraculous healing is used to show the great mercy of the Saviour, certainly not later than the eighth or ninth century, and perhaps earlier.

Of the great influence of the Passion on the mediæval imagination, Émile Mâle says, "Il faut arriver à la Passion pour rencontrer la légende. Comment eût-il pu en être autrement? Les siècles mystiques, le XII[e] et le XIII[e], rêvèrent sans cesse au drame inouï. Cette mort

[1] Kröner, *op. cit.*, p. 34, has the following to say of Longinus's connection with art: "Auch giebt es noch eine Menge allerdings schon älterer Gemälde, die Christus am Kreuze darstellen, auf denen man einen Soldaten sieht, der eine Lanze im Arme hält, auf den Knieen liegt und betet; an der Lanze klebt Blut,—offenbar soll diese Person den hl. Longinus vorstellen, der dem Herrn für seine Bekehrung dankt."

d'un Dieu, ce mystère des mystères, c'est le fond, c'est l'âme même de l'art du moyen âge. La croix, alors, est partout et jusque dans le plan symbolique de la cathédrale. 'La vie,' dit magnifiquement Albert le Grand, n'est que l'ombre que projette la croix de Jésus-Christ: hors de cette ombre, il n'y a que mort."[2] Long before the twelfth century the Crucifixion was a fruitful subject for art. First treated in the East, the Passion was depicted in every detail by the art of the time. The Eastern Christians dwelt on the physical suffering of Jesus. He was to them a living sacrifice; while yet alive he shed his blood for the redemption of sinners. The belief that Christ was still living when his side was pierced is shown, in all the early representations of the crucifixion, by his open eyes. This belief made the piercing and the instrument used in this last act of the sacrifice of supreme importance. So Longinus with his spear was never omitted in the presentation of the subject.

The first example of what Reil[3] makes the second Eastern type of the crucifixion in art is found on a Syrian silver platter of the fifth or sixth century. In this, Christ, with wide open eyes, is in the center of the group. The two thieves appear on either side of the cross under the outstretched arms of the crucified. The spear-bearer is piercing the left side of Jesus; the sponge-bearer stands

2 É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIII Siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, p. 259 ff.

3 J. Reil, *Die Frühchristlichen Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi. (Stud. über Christ Denkmäler.* J. Ficker) Leipzig, 1904. Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 36, quotes from the Byzantine *Manual Philes* (1280-1350): "Der Maler hat Jesus an das Kreuz gehängt. Warum malst du ihn nicht geradezu als Gott? Die Gestalten der Leiber habe ich gelernt und kenne ich, aber Gott zu malen, sagt er, das ist nicht möglich."

on the right. Two "mora" players are at the base of the cross.[4]

The same type is illustrated by the famous crucifixion in the Syriac Gospels of Rabula, found in the Laurentian Library in Florence, and usually dated 586.[5] There is some question as to this date. Kraus says "das Datum ist indes jüngst angefochten worden;"[6] but Reil thinks it a not impossible composition for the sixth century.[7] In this too the spearman and the sponge-bearer stand at either side of the cross. The spear this time is thrust into the right side of the Saviour. Over the soldier is the name ΛΟΓΙΝΟΣ.

Exactly the same grouping is seen for the first time in the West in a painting of the second half of the eighth century[8] in a chapel of the Roman Saint Maria Antiqua—a church created out of the library connected with the temple of Augustus, which was excavated and carefully restored in 1900-1901.[9] "In the niche over the altar," says Hülsen, "is a remarkably well preserved picture of the crucifixion (fig. 98, p. 175): the Saviour, clothed in a long greyish-blue *colobium,* has his eyes open and appears to be alive, although the soldier (Longinus) has already pierced his side. To the right

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 64 ff.; cf. fig. 3 Syrischer Silberteller aus dem gouvernement Perm.

5 Smith and Cheatham, *Dict. Christ Antiq;* cf. also E. L. Cutts, *Hist. Early Christ. Art,* p. 201; cf. Assemani, *Cat. Bibl. Medic.* Florence, p. 1742, tav. XXII.

6 F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte d. christl. Kunst,* I, 174.

7 Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 70 "(Speerträger und Schwammhalter, Mora spielende Soldaten) sind zweifellos syrischer Herkunft, und ihr Auftreten im 6. Jahrhundert ist wahrscheinlich."

8 Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

9 Chr. Hülsen, *The Roman Forum,* trans. J. B. Carter, 1906, p. 164.

and the left of the cross, are Mary and John, and between John and the cross is another soldier with the sponge and the vessel of vinegar; over the arms of the cross are the sun and the moon hiding their light. The composition bears a strong resemblance to a mosaic, now destroyed, from the chapel of John VII in St. Peter's (fragments in the Grottos of the Vatican)."[10] In the reproduction, the names *Sca. Maria. Scs. Ioannes.* and *Longinus* appear. Reil adds more details: "Der Speerträger, durch die Beischrift (Longinus) deutlich gekennzeichnet, ist eine bärtige, mit grünem und auf der Brust goldverziertem Wams bekleidete Figur. Ein Schwert hängt an seiner Linken. Er steht halbseitwärts nach hinten und stösst mit beiden Händen die Lanze in Christi rechte Brust, aus welcher ihm Blutstrahlen ins Gesicht springen."[11] Indeed Reil sees in this blood streaming into the face of Longinus, indication of recognition of his blindness by the artist. "Entströmendes Blut haben erst die Bilder in Maria Antiqua und S. Giovanni e Paolo abzubilden gewagt. Auch hier halfen andere Motive, ästetischen Widerwillen zu überwinden. Die Hinzufügung des Namens Longinus im Bilde von S. Maria Antiqua und die Kopfhaltung des Speerträgers hier wie in S. Giovanni e Paolo, durch welche das Blut Christi sein Gesicht treffen muss, beweisen, dass die um seine Person gebildeten Legenden, hier insbesondere die Heilung des blinden Longinus durch die Christi Seite entströmenden Bluts-tropfen, ins Bild eingedrungen sind."[12]

Whether the artists in the cases just mentioned intended to represent Longinus's blindness or not, is per-

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.
[11] Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[12] Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

haps to be questioned. The reference, however, soon becomes unmistakable. J. R. Allen, speaking of Irish crosses, says: "The representations of the crucifixion upon the Irish crosses were probably copied from the illuminations of the Celtic MSS, which, in their turn, were derived from the Byzantine or Greek MSS."[13] In this Irish type of crucifixion, he notes, "the eyes are shown open. . . . As a rule, the only actors in the scene of the crucifixion, as treated in Irish art, are the two soldiers, one piercing our Lord's side with a spear, and the other offering Him a sponge, or cup, shaped like a crescent, filled with vinegar, at the end of a reed."[14] Irish crucifixions, following the Eastern type, are numerous in MSS and on crosses. The most interesting of these is a miniature in the St. Gall Gospels (no. 51), a MS of the ninth century,[15] which shows Longinus piercing the left side of Christ. In this representation the blindness of Longinus and the miraculous restoration of his sight is indicated unmistakably by a zig-zag line of blood—the line in the MS is red—drawn from the side of Christ where the point of the spear still rests, to the eyes of Longinus.

It may not be amiss to enumerate still other manuscript illuminations that deal with the story of Longinus, some of which represent his blindness. These illus-

[13] J. R. Allen, *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 1887, p. 142.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 144, ff.

[15] *Ibid.*, fig. 36. Cf. F. Keller, *Bilder und Schriftzüge in dem irischen MSS der schweizerischen Bibliotheken*, Pl. V; Longinus pierces the right side of Jesus. The whole picture is reversed. Cf. also Westwood, *Facsimiles of Miniatures and Ornaments of Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS*, 1868, pl. 28, codex no. 1395 (ninth century).

trations are often found in the Passions, or Hours of the Cross, under the hour of *None*.

A manuscript *Horae* in H. Yates Thompson's collection (MS 59, fol. 37^{b}) contains an illumination which is thus described: "At the foot of the cross, kneeling on one knee and spearing the Saviour's side, is the soldier Longinus, represented as an old man with white hair, wearing a long open-sleeved robe and a full head-dress hanging down the back of the head; his face is upturned, and with his left hand he points to his right eye, which is closed, as if imploring the Saviour for restoration."[16]

Another of the *Horae,* in the same collection, which also represents the blindness, is MS 75, fol. 113. Longinus kneels to the left and points to his eye, while he pierces Christ's side with a spear. To the right is the centurion in Roman armour.[17] In MS 85, fol. 61, Longinus, in the background to the left, pierces the side of Christ and points to his eye.[18]

In an illustration of the crucifixion found in the British Museum, Royal MS 19 C I, fol. 119, Longinus, with a spear, appears on the left. He points to his eye.[19]

Also showing the blindness, is an illustration found in the magnificently ornamented Trinity College *Horae,* B. 11, 31, 32 (James 269, 270), of French execution. The catalogue description is as follows: "The side pierced and the sponge offered. Longinus is blind. The virgin

[16] James's Catalogue of Yates Thompson's MSS, p. 86. *Horae* of 'Elysabeth the Quene,' date c. 1400-1415.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 173, *Horae* of Jeanne II, Queen of Navarre, fourteenth century.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 173, *Horae* of Admiral Prigent de Coctivy. Before 1445.

[19] A southern French *Breviaire d'Amour* of the fourteenth century.

swoons. The thieves are bound, not nailed to their crosses. The bad one has back to Christ."

In ivories, Longinus, of course, is seen frequently. Two examples in the Maskell collection, British Museum, may be noted. The first is found in a panel of a Carlovingian book cover, of the ninth century; Longinus and the sponge-bearer appear on the right and the left of Jesus. The other is in a German crucifixion of the eleventh century: Longinus is shown on the left, kneeling with uplifted, clasped hands, his spear on the ground at his side, his eyes open, his face uplifted; the sponge-bearer is on the opposite side; Mary and John stand opposite each other, and the two thieves are similarly placed. In the Sneyd collection, also in the British Museum, there is a Rhenish panel of the eleventh century, which is similar to the Carlovingian panel noted above.

Other representations that are somewhat different are found as follows: In Bodleian MS, Liturgical 334, fol. 3^{b}, there is an old fifteenth century print of the crucifixion colored by hand. Mary and John stand opposite each other in the foreground. Just behind Mary, with pink robe and green hat, stands Longinus with spear directed toward the right side of Christ. An angel just above holds cups under the right hand and the wound in the side of Christ, to catch the blood. A similar angel catches the blood from the left hand.[20]

In Trinity College, Cambridge, MS, B 10, 12 (James 223), of the fifteenth century, Longinus is shown old and bearded, in a red turban. The body of Christ is bleeding in numerous places from the flagellation.

[20] Cf. W. de Grey Birch and H. Jenner, *Early Drawings and Illuminations in British Museum.*

In British Museum Royal MS, 20 D VI, f. 46^{b}, of the thirteenth century, Longinus stands by two falling columns and idols, on a background of polished gold. Longinus is clad in a red tunic and green cap, and holds a large axe.

Different from any other I have seen is the illustration in another Trinity College *Horae,* B. 11, 7 (James 246), no. 57, *Vespers:* "The Virgin swoons on the left, John supports her, and the Magdalen stands behind her. Longinus kneels with the spear; the centurion, ruler and soldiers appear on the right. On Longinus's robe is the word *amor,* and on that of the centurion, *durant;* on the ruler's *vere.* On the ground is written: 'Misericordia et veritas obuiauerunt sibi; Justicia et pax osculate sunt.'"

More interesting still are the representations of the story found on monuments and in buildings, in places frequented by all classes of people, and consequently making wider appeal than illuminations in manuscripts could. There are a number of these illustrations of the legend in England. Some of them are: A crucifixion with the two thieves, the spearman, (but no sponge-bearer) on the font at Lenton, Notts.;[21] another on the shaft of the jamb of the Norman doorway at Duddingstone, near Edinborough, with the sponge-bearer, Longinus, and a bird; on Moone Abbey Cross;[22] on a slab built into the walls of the Saxon Church at Daglingworth (eleventh century?);[23] on a cross at Spital, Hexham, Northumberland, a soldier with his lance on the right

[21] J. R. Allen, *op. cit.*, fig. 112.
[22] *Ibid.*, fig. 69.
[23] *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

of Jesus;[24] on a cross at Aycliffe, Durham;[25] on a cross at Alnmouth, Northumberland.[26] The last two have been considered as belonging perhaps to the eighth century. Longinus appears also on the roodscreen of Suffield church.[27] In the east window of St. Peter's, Mancroft, Norwich,[28] Longinus is shown with a spear in one hand, pointing to his eye with the other.[29]

It is unnecessary here to speak of more modern uses of Longinus in art. His position as the patron saint of Mantua[30] has made him a subject of some of Mantegna's best known paintings.[31] He appears in Ruben's Antwerp Crucifixion, and elsewhere. Suffice it to say that

24 J. Stuart, *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, pl. 88.

25 *Ibid.*, pl. 90.

26 *Ibid.*, pl. 117.

27 F. C. Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints*: by which they are distinguished in works of art, 1882, p. 131.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

29 No attempt has been made to make these representations of Longinus in art exhaustive. Many other examples are accessible. I have merely tried to show that the story of Longinus was popular in the art of the Middle Ages, and so of influence.

30 According to tradition, Mantua possesses the body of St. Longinus, and drops of the blood of Christ brought by Longinus to the city. In the history of Longinus given in the *Petits Bollandistes Vies des Saints*, it is stated: "Le reliquaire du saint sang figure sur plusieurs monnaies anciennes de la cité de Mantoue." . . . St. Longinus appears with "reliquaire" and drops of blood in a picture in the Louvre, by Giulio Romano. Cf. the engraved title page of *La Vita dis Longino Martire Cavalier Mantoana*, Girolano Magagnati, 1605. S. Longinus stands on one side and S. Barbara on the other. The vessel containing the sacred blood is in the center, and Mantua is below. Longinus is shown with his spear in his hand, his helmet and armor at his feet. The usual belief is (cf. Bollandists) that the Mantuan story did not exist until 804, when a small vase of lead was found. Some time after a body was also found, but there was nothing to indicate that it was the body of Longinus.

F. Nodari attempted in 1899, to restore favor to the idea that

art shows rather more clearly than literature just how his legend travelled from one part of the world to another. The earliest appearance of the Longinus story in art was in Syria. From there it seems to have travelled to Rome, and probably directly also to Ireland. Reil says: "Dass gerade die Irländer dem Bilde des Gekreuzigten unter den germanischen und keltischen Völkern, die sämtlich gleiches Interesse an dem heldenhaft für seine Mannen sterbenden Christus hatten, zumeist Eingang verschafften liegt an ihrem Wandertriebe und Missionseifer."[32] And again, "Dazu war die direkte Verbindung Irlands im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert mit dem Osten lebhaft. Wie von überall her, so wanderte man

S. Longinus preached the faith and suffered martyrdom in Mantua: he tried to show that this belief extended back of the discovery of the relics in 804. In criticism of this work in *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. XIX (1900), 46, the author says in part: "A partir du IXe siècle surtout les *Révélations* et les *Inventions* se multiplient d'une façon inquiétante et amènent au jour des reliques que l'antiquité avait toujours ignorées, qu'elle aurait même repoussées avec horreur, tant l'imagination surexcitée se donne de license."

[31] Woltmann-Woermann, *Hist. of Painting* (tr. C. Bell) II, 376. At Mantua, by Mantegna, "Christ rising from the grave, with SS. Andrew and Longinus, the patron saints of Mantua, on either hand." Cf. Kristeller, *Mantegna*, pp. 386, 400, "We would be almost tempted to see in this composition [The Risen Christ between SS. Andrew and Longinus] the design for a group of statuary, perhaps for the high altar of S. Andrea in Mantua, which was raised above the most sacred relic possessed by the city, the 'preziosissimo sangue di Cristo.' Longinus, who is supposed to have brought this relic to Mantua, and Andrea, were the especial patron saints of the town, and particularly of the church of S. Andrea." Cf. also the Madonna della Vittoria of Mantegna, now in the Louvre.

[32] Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Cf. D. Hyde, *A Literary History of Ireland*, 1903, pp. 453, 454, who says of Irish art, that it is not Irish, but Eastern. He thinks that so-called Irish patterns started from Byzantium, spread over Dalmatia and North Italy, and finally found their way into Ireland.

auch vom äussersten Westen nach Palästina. Irländische Pilger besuchten die heiligen Stätten. Adamnan, der Abt von Hy, schrieb um 670 seine Reisenotizen; Marcellus und Moengal kamen von einer Palestinareise, als sie sich in St. Gallen niederliessen. Aegyptische und andere auswärtige Mönche pilgerten nach Irland und wurden hier bestattet, etc."[33] Adamnan did not, according to Stokes, visit Palestine. He saw and used Arculf's notes and took from Arculf his description of the country.[34]

It has already been noted that Allen considers Irish art Oriental in character, thus bearing out in a measure Reil's conclusions. Zimmer, though chiefly concerned with the diffusion of Irish culture, rather than with its sources, refers to Ireland and Spain as the two countries offering an asylum to Greco-Roman learning in the seventh century.[35] Stokes also calls attention to the fact that numerous Eastern ecclesiastics found refuge in Ireland in the eighth century.[36] Irish monasticism, peculiarities of church service, art, architecture, are now traced to Oriental sources.

The history of Longinus in art is interesting for still another reason. It explains, I think, one of the most puzzling points in the evolution of the legend. The church accounts, it will be remembered, gave no suggestion as to why the centurion was more or less entirely superseded in popular favor by the soldier. As the Crucifixion came to be the dominant inspiration of art, and

[33] Reil, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[34] G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 99.

[35] H. Zimmer, *Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture*, trans. by J. L. Edwards, p. 11.

[36] G. T. Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

since, in the East especially, it kept before the minds of the people the idea of the physical suffering of Christ on the cross, the spearman, as the human instrument of this torture, the person most closely associated with the shedding of the blood of the living Saviour, naturally became more and more prominent. The rôle of the centurion, on the other hand, was less dramatic and would make far less appeal to the emotions. Moreover, just the familiarity with the soldier that would come from seeing him represented everywhere in the art of the time, would result finally in impressing his story much more forcibly on the public than the tale of the centurion, which appeared far less frequently.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANCE AS A RELIC AND IN THE LITURGY

The history of the lance in the liturgy lies so close to its history as a relic, that in some ways it seems unwise to separate the consideration of the two. Its growing importance as a relic increased, of course, its liturgical value; and, on the other hand, the prominence of the lance in the most solemn service of the Greek Church greatly enhanced the value, as a relic, of the lance already honored independently as an instrument used in the crucifixion itself. Since, however, the two uses have led to separate literary development—the lance as a relic associating itself with the romances which deal with the crusades, and the lance of the mass connecting with the spear of the Grail romances—it will be convenient to consider first, the lance as a relic, and, second, the relation of Longinus and his lance to the liturgy.

§1. The Lance as a Sacred Relic

The earliest reference I have found to the history of the lance used at the cross is that in the *Departure of My Lady Mary:*

"In the year 345 (Greek era, A. D. 33 or 34) . . . my Lady Mary came forth from her house, and went to the tomb of the Messiah. . . . But the Jews, as soon as the Messiah was dead, closed the tomb. . . . And the Jews took the cross of our Lord, and the other two crosses, and the spear with which our Saviour had been

pierced, and the nails which they had fixed in his hands and feet, and the robes of mockery which he had worn, and hid them."[1]

In a *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, which dates from about 530, there is a description of the Basilica of Constantine in Jerusalem: "Et est in medio civitatis basilica illa, ubi est lancea, unde percussus est Dominus, et de ipsa facta est crux, et lucet in nocte sicut sol in virtute diei."[2] In 570, Antony, the martyr, saw the lance in the basilica of Sion.[3] Arculf, about 670, also testifies that he saw the spear with which the soldier pierced the side of Christ. According to him the spear was fixed in a wooden cross in the portico of Constantine's basilica, its shaft being broken into two parts. He states that the whole city of Jerusalem resorted to the basilica in order to kiss and venerate the spear.[4]

Bede gives testimony as to the lance in his time: "Lancea militis inserta habetur in cruce lignea in porticu martyrii, cujus hastile in duas intercisum partes, a tota veneratur civitate."[5]

[1] W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* (from the year after our Lord's Ascension to the beginning of the fourth century). Reprinted in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 4th ser. III, 1865, p. 133.

[2] *Pilgrim Text Soc.* I, 26; Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolyma*, I, 57. An exactly similar account is found in the *De terra Sancta*, IV, of Theodosius, *circa* 530 (Tobler and Molinier, I, 64).

[3] *Pilg. Text.* II, 18; Tobler and Molinier, I, 126.

[4] *Pilg. Text.* I, 34; Tobler and Molinier, I, 153. A very late pilgrim reference is interesting in this connection: *The Pilgrimage* of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A. D. 1506, Camden Sc. 1851, p. 4. "Frydaye to Labrylle, and to Lyon, where we taryed bothe Saterdaye and Sonday, and vysyted the relyques at the Yle where saint Anne lyeth and Longyous; there is also a cuppe of an emerawde stone whereof oure Sauyoure Crist dranke at his maundy." For the history of this emerald cup, see Th. Sterzenbach, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der Sage vom heil. Gral*, 1908, pp. 28 ff.

[5] *De Locis Sanctis*, Giles, IV, 408.

After this time there are varying accounts of the whereabouts of the lance,[6] until in 1098, the crusaders discovered it at Antioch.[7] Perhaps the most interesting reference to this discovery is found in the letter of the lords to the Pope:

Epistola Boamundi Principis Antiochiae, Reymundi Comitis Sancti Ægidij, Godefredi Ducis Lotharingiæ, Roberti Comitis Normanniæ, Roberti Comitis Flandrensis, & Eustachii Comitis Boloniæ ad Urbanum II, Papam.

Anno, 1098.

Quare ita desolati & afflicti fuimus quod fame & alijs multis angustijs morientes, equos & asinos nostros famelicos interficientes multi nostri comederunt. Sed interim clementissima misericordia omnipotentis Dei nobis subveniente & pro nobis vigilante, dominicam lanceam, qua latus Jesu Christi Longini manibus perforatum fuit, sancto Andrea Apostolo cuidam famulo Dei ter revelante & ipsum locum ubi lancea jacebat demonstrante, in Ecclesia beati Petri Apostolorum principis invenimus. Cujus inventione & multis alijs divinis revelationibus ita confortati & corroborati fuimus ut qui antea afflicti & timidi fueramus, tunc ad bellum faciendum audacissimi promptissimique, alij alios hortabamur."[8]

There are two accounts of the finding of the lance by the pilgrims. That given by most historians follows an early anonymous authority: "Erat autem quidam peregrinus de nostro exercitu, cui nomen Petrus, cui antequam Civitatem intraremus, apparuit Sanctus Andreas apostolus, dicens, Quid agis, bone vir? Cui ille respondit: Tu quis es? Dixit ei apostolus: Ego sum Andreas Apos-

[6] Moroni (*Dizionario*, XXXIX, 89 ff.) comments on Bede's testimony, and states that afterwards the Saracens invaded Jerusalem, and carried the sacred iron to Antioch and buried it.

[7] Fulcherius Carnotensis (1058) *Historia Hierosol. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, III, 344; cf. also H. Hagenmeyer, *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, 1890. cap. XXVIII; cf. V. de Beauvais, *Spec. Historiale*, lib. XXV, cap. C, *De inventione lanceae saluatoris nostri ihesu Cristi.*

[8] S. Baluzii, *Miscellaneorum*, Paris, 1678, I, 415.

tolus. Agnoscas, fili, quia, dum villam intraveris, vadens ad ecclesiam beati Petri, ibi invenies lanceam Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ex qua in cruce pendens patibulo vulneratus est."[9] Another quite different explanation is given in *Le Chevalier au Cygne*. A Christian slave at Antioch goes to Peter the Hermit and says: (l. 8173) "A ceste sainte église dont ichy vous devis Avoit moult de relicques, ce nous dist ly escrips." These relics include the robe of Jesus, and the lance of Longinus, which Helena had left there, and which had been kept in St. Stephens, Antioch, unknown to the Saracens. The lance was exhibited by Peter to Godfrey and the other crusaders, and its genuineness was tested. It shone and it filled the place with a sweet odor. The lance was discovered at an extreme moment; the famine was so great that a mother devoured her child. When the sacred lance was taken into battle, however, victory was gained and the troubles of every kind were at an end.[10]

[9] *Anonymi Gesta Francorum*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1890, cap. XXV, year 1098.

[10] De Reiffenberg, *Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon*, II, LXXX. Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica*, says that after the finding of the Lance by the Crusaders, it was deposited in Constantinople, and adds that, according to some authorities, it was there in the sixth century. Rohault de Fleury, *Mémoire sur les Instruments de la Passion*, Paris, 1870, p. 274, has also traced the history of the relic. According to him, in 1243, Baldwin sent the point to St. Louis with other relics that he had in trust from the Venetians. A part was sent in 1492 by Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, to Innocent VIII, who placed it in St. Peter's at Rome. Benoit XIV had made a piece like the point at Paris, and found that it fitted the part in Rome. Fleury said he had not been able to see the spear at St. Peter's. The Sainte-Chapelle possessed the point in 1793, and it was removed from there to the Bibl. Nat.; but it was not, he asserted, at the time he was writing, at either place. Cf. Du Cange, *sub voce*, "Lancea, Caroli Magni."

The lance of the crucifixion held prominent place among the relics which Charlemagne is said to have brought back with him from his visit to Constantinople. P. Meyer[11] discussing these says: "D'après une tradition constatée dans la *Chanson du Pélérinage de Charlemagne,* le grand empereur aurait rapporté de Constantinople un des clous de la Crucifixion, en même temps que d'autres reliques." In the *Karlamagnus-saga* of the twelfth century, Charles visits the tomb of Christ, returns by Constantinople, and aids the king of the Greeks against the Infidels. The Greek king offers to become the vassal of Charles; but Charles refuses to accept his offer, and asks only for relics. He is given the *"suaire,"* the point of the lance of the crucifixion and the lance of St. Mercure. He places the relics in different French cities, and has the lance point set in the hilt of his sword. It is named from that time "Joyeuse."[12]

The lance is included by William of Malmesbury in an account he gives of the presents sent by Hugh of France to Athelstan, whose sister he desired in marriage:

"Ensem Constantini magni, in quo litteris aureis nomen antiqui possessoris legebatur; in capulo quoque super crassas auri laminas clavum ferreum affixum cerneres, unum ex quatuor quos Judaica factio Dominici corporis aptarat supplicio: lanceam Caroli magni, quam imperator invictissimus, contra Saracenos exercitum ducens, siquando in hostem vibrabat, nunquam nisi victor abibat; ferebatur eadem esse quae, Dominico lateri centurionis

11 *La Chanson des Clowechons, Romania,* XXXIV, 96.

12 G. Paris, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes,* XXV, 102. Cf. Gautier, *Epopées Franç.* III, 292. In the *Iter Jerusol.* eleventh century, *Epopées Franç.* III, 288, the relics given Charl. are: crown, nail, piece of the wood of the cross, *'suaire'* (robe, or shroud of Jesus), the chemise of the virgin, the *ceinture* that held our Lord in his cradle, and the arm of Simeon.

manu impacta, pretiosi vulneris hiatu Paradisum miseris mortalibus aperuit."[13]

Among the miraculous properties connected with such a relic, one would certainly expect to find the power of healing. And in Clement Brentano's *Passion de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ* this property is explicitly ascribed to the lance. Longinus, we are told, in the course of his ministry converted many and "guérissait des malades en leur faisant toucher un morceau de la sainte lance qu'il portait avec lui."[14] Brentano's *Passion*, it is true, is of late date, but in this matter it may easily reflect earlier tradition.

According to Moroni, the sacred lance is still preserved at Rome; there is, however, the additional statement by the same authority that a similar lance is preserved at Prague, and another in Norimbiga.[15]

The lance, then, was in the Middle Ages, according to tradition, an object of veneration and reverence—one of the most prized of the crucifixion relics. It had miraculous qualities; it shone by night as the sun shines by day; it blazed when proof of its authenticity was needed; it healed the sick. It was identified with the marvellous weapons of kings; it brought victory in battle and help in trouble.

[13] *De Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Rolls Series, 1887, 1, 150. Cf. Gervase of Canterbury, Rolls Series, 1880, II, 47, and *Chron.* Henry Knighton, Rolls Series, 1889, I, 20.

[14] *La Passion de notre Seigneur*, d'après les visions d'Anne Catherine Emmerich, tr. de l'allemand, quoted by l'Abbé Profillet, *Les Saints Militaires*, Paris, 1891.

[15] S. C. Malan, *Original Documents of Coptic Church*, 1873, p. 10, adds yet another to the places that claim possession of the lance of Longinus. "His spear-head, without the shaft, is one of the relics ensbrined in the Cathedral of Etchmiadziu, where it was shown me not long ago."

§2. Longinus and the Liturgy

The tendency to dwell upon the physical sufferings of Jesus is conspicuously illustrated, as we have seen, in the art of the Eastern church. The same tendency appears also in the Oriental liturgy, and during about the same period, that is, from the fourth to the ninth centuries. In Sophocles's Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine period, B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100, λόγχη is defined as follows: "A little spear with which the sacramental bread is pierced by the priest in commemoration of the piercing of the side of Jesus."[16] This "little spear" assumed large importance in the ritual of the mass. Nevertheless, the influence of the story of Longinus does not manifest itself in the liturgy any earlier than in the other records already considered.

It is now possible to examine the liturgy of the church at Jerusalem as early as the fourth century.[17] From its general character, we should expect to find some mention of Longinus and his act, the piercing of the side of Christ, but there is none. The fourth century, according to Cabrol, marked a most important transformation in the liturgy. Up to that time the Christians had usually held their religious meetings in secret. Under Constantine they met openly. Great churches were built, "on institua des processions; les chants et les autres parties de l'office se développèrent."[18] He adds justly:

[16] E. A. Sophocles, 1870.

[17] *Peregrinatio Silviae* (*Etheriae*). Reprinted from *Bibl. dell' Accad. storico giuridica*, IV, Rome, 1887, in *Christian Worship, a Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne*, by L. Duchesne, Eng. Ed., London, 1904, App. pp. 490 ff.

[18] *Les Eglises de Jérusalem au IV siècle*, 1895, p. 31.

"L'histoire du Seigneur est rappelée, *vécue* à nouveau; c'est un drame en action, c'est presque, à certains moments, mais avec un caractère plus grave, le mystère, tel que le moyen âge le mettra en oeuvre quelques siècles plus tard."[19]

Especially significant is the omission of all reference to Longinus in that part of the Good Friday service which has to do with the adoration of the cross, for the feast of the Adoration or Exaltation of the Cross, it should be remembered, is the one with which Longinus is later associated.[20] If the lance had attained any importance in the church by the fourth century, it would surely have found mention here among the other relics. The following account of the Adoration of the Cross is given by Silvia:

"Et sic ponitur cathedra episcopo in Golgotha post Crucem, quae stat nunc; residet episcopus hic cathedra; ponitur ante eum mensa sublinteata; stant in giro mensa diacones; et affertur loculus argenteus deauratus in quo est lignum sanctum crucis; aperitur et profertur; ponitur in mensa quam lignum crucis quam titulus. Cum ergo positum fuerit in mensa, episcopus sedens de manibus suis summitatis de ligno sancto premet; diacones autem

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36.

[20] Cf. Ælfric's sermon on the Exaltation of the Cross, p. 83 ff., the first vernacular reference to Longinus in English literature. The feast of the 'Exaltation' was either the same as the 'Adoration,' or early became fused with it. S. C. Malan, *Hist. of Copts and their Church*, p. 38, says the origin of the 'Exaltation of the Cross' was the appearance of the cross to Constantine. The feast is celebrated on the 14 or 15 Sept. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 124, says that the exaltation without doubt was introduced after the recovery of the cross by Heraclius in the year 628. On p. 263 he states that the feast of the cross, 14 Sept., is the anniversary of the dedication of the Constantine basilica in 335. Attached to it is also the association of the discovery of the true cross. It was an occasion that drew to Jerusalem a great concourse of bishops, monks, and pilgrims. It lasted eight days.

qui in giro stant custodent. Hoc autem propterea sic custoditur, quia consuetudo est ut unus et unus omnis populus veniens, tam fideles quam cathecumini, acclinant se ad mensam, osculentur sanctum lignum, et pertranseant. . . . At ubi autem osculati fuerint crucem [et] pertransierint, stat diaconus, tenet anulum Salomonis et cornu illud de quo reges unguebantur; osculantur et cornu attendant et anulum.[21]

Not until the seventh or eighth century, in fact, does the lance appear in the liturgy. It occupies an important position in the liturgy of Saint Chrysostom, for which, unfortunately, it is impossible to give an exact date. Swainson thinks the Mass of the Presanctified hardly earlier than the seventh century.[22] This of Chrysostom is a little later.[23] In the Mass of Chrysostom we see the attempt already spoken of, to reproduce with all its symbolical significance the suffering of Jesus on the cross:

"Deinde accipit sacerdos in sinistra manu oblationem, in dextera vero sanctam lanceam; et cum ea signum faciens supra sigillum oblatae, ter dicit: In memoriam Domini et Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.

Et statim infigit sanctam lanceam in dexteram partem sigilli, et scindens dicit: Tamquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est. In sinistra similiter infigens sanctam lanceam dicit: Et sicut agnus sine malitia coram tondente se sine voce. sic non aperit os suum.

In superiore autem parte sigilli infigens sanctam lanceam dicit: In humilitate ejus judicium ejus sublatum est. In inferiori etiam sigilli parte rursus infigens sanctam lanceam dicit: generationem ejus quis enarrabit?

21 Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

22 Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, 1884, p. xxviii.

23 *Op. cit.*, p. xxxvi. The Liturgy is not assigned to Chrysostom in the oldest Barberini MS. (Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrést.*, p. 71, states that Cod. Barb. no. 77 of the eighth or ninth century is the oldest MS of the Byzantine Liturgy.) It was assigned to Chrysostom a little later.

Diaconus vero in qualibet incisione dicit: Dominum precemur. Tenens autem dextera manu stolam, postea dicit diaconus: Tolle, domine.

Et sacerdos immittens sanctam lanceam, ex obliquo dexterae partis oblatae, extollit sanctum panem, sic dicens: quia tollitur de terra vita ejus perpetuo, nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Et ponens ipsum sublimem in sancto disco, postquam dixit diaconus, Immola, domine, sacerdos sacrificat illum in modum crucis, dicens: Immolatur Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi, pro mundi vita et salute. Et convertit aliam partem quae habet superne crucem; et dicit diaconus: Punge, domine.

Sacerdos autem ipsum in dextera pungens cum sancta lancea dicit. Et unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit; et statim exivit sanguis et aqua.[24]

The account of the mass found in Pseudo-Germanus is also interesting. Here the name of Longinus appears:

Lancea vice est ejus quae latus Domini punxit. Lancea expurgari, significat illud, 'tanquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est,' etc. Discus lectica est in qua corpus Domini componitur a sacerdote et diacono, qui sunt Joseph et Nicodemus . . . Vinum simul et aqua, sunt egressi ex latere ejus sanguis et aqua: quemadmodem ait propheta. Panis ei dabitur ad cibum, et aqua ei ad potum fidelem. Nam vice lanceae quae punxit Christum in cruce a Longino, est haec lancea, etc.[25]

The symbolism of the mass is explained by Theodorus Studites:

Nonne unguentum sanctum existimas effusum fuisse ut esset typus Christi? Sanctam mensam pro vivifico ipsius sepulcro? Sindonem quae mensae imponitur, pro sindone qua involutus sepulcro mandatus est? Sacram lanceam pro ea qua divinum ipsius latus apertum fuit? Spongiam pro ea, qua fuit potatus felle? Crucis imaginem pro ligno vivifico?[26]

The importance of the lance of Longinus in the liturgy is illustrated also by the mass of the Syrian Jacobites.

[24] *Pseudo-Chrysostom*, Paris, 1838, XII, 1013.
[25] Pseudo-Germanus, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 98, col. 397.
[26] *Patrol. Gr.* 99, col. 489.

It is in part similar to the mass of Chrysostom. There occurs also in the service this sentence: "By the nails in thy hands and thy feet, by the spear which pierced thy side, pardon me mine offences and my sins."[27]

Another striking testimony of the imposing position of the lance in the mass of the Eastern Church is given in the translation from Old-Slavonic by P. Kuvochinsky:

"Then the Priest shall take the Bread into the left hand, and, holding in his right the Holy Spear, shall make therewith the sign of the cross above the seal on the Bread, saying:

In remembrance of our God and Saviour Lord Jesus Christ (Thrice).

And immediately he shall thrust the spear into the right side of the Seal, and as he pierceth it, shall say:

He was led as a sheep to the slaughter.

And, piercing the left, he shall say:

And as a spotless lamb before his shearers is dumb, so opened He not his lips.

And piercing the top, shall say:

In his humiliation His judgment was taken away.

And piercing it from underneath, shall say:

For His generation who shall declare it?

And the Deacon, gazing reverently at the Mystic Rite, holding his stole in his hand, shall say at each incision:

Let us pray to the Lord.

While the priest thrusts the spear obliquely from below into the right side of the Bread, and removes the part upon which is imprinted the Seal, the Deacon shall say:

Master, take it hence, for This Life is taken from the earth.

The priest, having laid it, inverted, upon the Paten, and the Deacon having said:

Master, make the sacrifice.

He shall sacrifice it, cutting it crosswise, and say:

Sacrificed is the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world for the life of the world and its salvation.

He shall then turn upward the other side, which beareth upon it the emblem of the cross, and shall pierce the right side with the spear, while the Deacon shall say:

[27] F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 107.

Pierce, Master.
And the Priest shall say:
One of the soldiers pierced His side with a spear and there came forth blood and water, and he that saw it bare witness and his witness is true.[28]

In discussing the symbolism of the liturgy, Kuvochinsky notes that the entrances are very impressive: "At the procession of the Lesser Entrance, the priest comes forth, followed by the deacon, who carries a large book of the Gospels typifying the teaching of our Lord." The Great Entrance, the carrying of the elements of the Prothesis to the altar, contains more that is striking: "It symbolizes the last Advent of Christ when he shall come with glory. First comes the reader bearing a high candlestick with a lighted candle. After this follow the deacon or deacons in order, symbolizing the ranks of angels. Then come those who bear the Holy Gifts. If there be more than one present, each of the rest holds a sacred object—the cross, the spoon, the spear."[29]

These instances of the reverence shown the lance in the comparatively early history of the Church, grow in suggestiveness in the light of the increasing importance of the relic in the Middle Ages, culminating in the fourteenth century in the "Feast of the Nails and the Lance."[30]

The extravagant feeling of the time endowed the lance with contradictory powers. On the one hand it was a

[28] *The Liturgy of the Graeco-Russian Church*, trans. from Old Slavonic by P. Kuvochinsky, London, 1909, pp. 33 ff. Cf. also The Office of the Prothesis, Neale, *Hist. of Holy Eastern Church*, 1850, p. 344.

[29] P. Kuvochinsky, *op. cit.*, p. xxii.

[30] Jo. Henr. a Seelen, *De Festo Lanceae et Clavorum. Misc. Lubecae*, 1734, p. 347. Cf. J. C. Thilo, *Codex Apoc. Novi Test.*, note p. 587. Cf. also Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalt*, I, 175.

weapon, world-conquering, flesh-subduing, devil-banishing—an instrument of vengeance, to be used against those hostile to Christ. On the other, it was honored as a blessed deliverer, which had opened a fountain of grace; it was the means by which the Church had issued forth from Christ's wounded side, the bride from the side of the bridegroom; it was also a sacrificial implement which had wounded the heart of the Redeemer, in order that the heart of the sinner might be healed. A fourteenth century sermon of Henricus de Hansia illustrates well this somewhat complex attitude toward the lance:

"Videte arma salutis, crucem, lanceam & clavos. Videte characteres victorie, quorum contemplatione vincitur mundus, caro compescitur, conterretur demonium. . . . Lancea equidem aqua & sanguine dedicata lateris Christi, que nobis thesaurum pretiosum de profundo Cordis Dei effodit, que fontem gratiarum clausum effluere fecit, que sponsam de latere sponsi formauit, que cor vulnerauit redemptoris, ut cor sanaretur peccatoris."

"Surgite in aduersarios Christi, extrahite gladium lanceam in turbatores pacis, erigite hastam, vibrate lanceam defensari ecclesiam, que de Christi latere effluxit lancea perforati, effundite iram vestram, inimiciciam non in subjectos Christianos, sed in gentes, que Christum non nouerunt & in regna, que nomen eius non inuocauerunt, vestraque arma Christi ne teneatis ociosa, neque splendorem fulgurantis haste triumphalis Jesu Christi rubiginare permittatis etc."[32]

It is possible to judge from the comment made by Seelen, who quotes this sermon, just how far veneration of the lance itself went. He attempts in every way to show how impious the cult of the nails and lance came to be. He quotes from Bishop Luitprand's account of Otto: "Rex sese cum omni populo lacrymas fundens ante victoriferos Clauos manibus Domini nostri J. C.

[32] Cf. Seelen, pp. 380-383.

affixos, suaeque Lanciae impositos in orationem dedit, quantumque iusti viri tunc valeret oratio, res manifesta probauit. Eo namque orante quum ex suis nullus occumberet hostes sunt omnes in fugam conuersi etc.[33] And again, from Krantznis, who is speaking of Henry: "Sacram Lanceam venerabundus flexis genibus adomnerit."[34] And, further, without direct quotation: "Urspergensis quoque in Hist. Ottonis I egregiam eius victoriam, quam modo memorauimus, Lanceae ab ipso adoratae refert acceptam.[35] Seelen condemns especially the superstition that by worship of the lance victory is obtained,[36] and demons are brought to nought.

It is interesting to note other evidences of the currency of these beliefs about the lance in the Middle Ages. As a victory-bringing weapon it is identified with the marvellous weapons of heroes; as an object which gives power over evil spirits, it becomes important in spells and

[33] Luitprandus, *De Rebus Gestis Ottonis Magni* (960-4), *loc. cit.*, p. 134; cf. Seelen, 372.

[34] Krantznis, *loc. cit.*, p. 73; cf. Seelen, 372.

[35] Seelen, p. 372.

[36] In this worship of the spear itself, there are interesting non-Christian parallels, which suggest that the practice was an old one Christianized. A. Wilder, in his edition of R. P. Knight's *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*, pp. 114, 115, gives a note on the subject. He quotes Plutarch, *Romulus:* "In Rhegium a spear was set up and worshipped as Ares, or Mars." Justin, *Hist.* XLIII, 3: "From the beginning, the ancients have worshipped spears as emblems of the immortal gods." "Herodotus also declares that the Scythians erect an iron scimiter as the effigy of Mars, and offer to it more sacrifices than to all the other gods of the pantheon. The Getae, Goths, Alans and Sarmatians also worshipped a sword, as Ammianus Marcellinus declares (XXXI, 2): 'Their only idea of religion is to plunge a naked sword into the ground, with barbarous rites, and worship it as Mars.'"

charms; as a death-dealing instrument of sacrifice, it becomes the symbolic weapon used in the mass.

The deed of Longinus was not only kept before the minds of the people of the Middle Ages by the presence of the lance in the mass, and by the special feast days—such as the "Exaltation of the Cross," and the "Feast of the Nails and the Lance." They were reminded of it also by such prayers as this, from *The Book of Nunnaminster,* which dates from the eighth century.

(fol. 30a) De latere domini.

O medicinae diuinae mirabilis dispensator qui tibi lancea latus aperire permisisti, Aperi mihi quaeso pulsanti ianuam uitae, ingressusque per eam confitebor tibi per tui uulnus lateris omnium uitiorum meorum [fol. 30b] uulnera per misericordiae tuae medicamen sana, Ne umquam indignus presumptor tui corporis et sanguinis reus efficiar, Pro meritis propriis meorum peccatorum, Sed ut anima mea miserationum tuarum abundantia repleata, Ut qui mihi es pretium ipse sis et praemium, Domine Jhesu Christi, Amen.[37]

[37] Printed by W. de Grey Birch, *An Ancient MS of the Eighth or Ninth Century* (Hampshire Record Society, 1889), p. 77. I do not know how ancient the following "parodies" to be used on Good Friday are:

Ad sanctum Longinum Qui uno lanceae ictu Jesu cor, & Mariae animam pertransiuit.

Ave Mariae animae, et Jesu cordis lanceator sanctissime Longine. Magna misericordia, mira clementia, & gratia plena Dominus tecum functus est. Tu ei dira lancea vulnerasti praeclarum cor, & purissimam matris animam: & Ipse tibi pretioso sanguine sanauit caecum oculum, & faedam animam: & fecit te suum Eremitam, Episcopum, & Martyrem. Benedictus tu inter omnes Christi milites, pontifices, & confessores, & benedictus fructus lanceae tuae Jesu ex latere emanatus, Ecclesiae nempe eximia Sacramenta, quae cum sanguine, & aqua ab illo exierunt. Sanctissime Longine fac ut lancea tua clauis adaperiens tâtoruũ thesaurorũ ostium & gladius doloris pertransiens animam sanctae Mariae matris Dei, sit pro nobis peccatoribus nunc gladius doloris, quo ploremus scelera nostra, & passionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, eiusque Matris, & in hora mortis nostrae sit clauis adape-

The lance, it has been shown, early became important in the liturgy of the Eastern Church. There the whole passion scene was re-enacted. The sacrificial significance was emphasized as strongly as possible, and the ceremony itself made dramatic largely by the use of the lance. The reverence paid the lance grew until it resulted in open, superstitious adoration of the crucifixion relic, as a sacred object considered powerful and miracle working in itself, when the whole practice was condemned by the Church.

riēs [*sic*] iannas regni Caelorum, ubi sunt thesauri indificientes [*sic*]: & satiabimur gloria, & gaudiis sempiternis Amen. *Ave Maria Parodiis*, C. Tomasio, Rome, 166 [4?], p. 85.

The above I owe to the kindness of Mr. Stephen Gaselee, Pepysian Librarian, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

CHAPTER V

LONGINUS AND CHARMS

The charms with which we find the name of Longinus connected are another evidence of the fusion in the Middle Ages of Christian legendary and heathen customs. "What maintained the use of the spell-prayer in full vigour throughout the earlier and mediæval epochs of Christendom, even in the orthodox ritual," Farnell tells us, "was chiefly the practice of exorcism and the belief in demons and demoniac possession; and the legal institution of the ordeal contributed also to its maintenance."[1]

The spirit of the Leech Books is, however, for the most part, Christian. The church was hostile toward charms, which were thought to be connected with pagan idolatry—the work of evil spirits and demons. In consequence charms were met by counter charms. Invocations to spirits and the occult powers of nature were replaced by invocations to Christ and the saints.[2]

That charms of the same general character as these of the Middle Ages, are of high antiquity is shown by Babylonian and Assyrian religious literature. Professor Jastrow comments on the great number of "texts containing formulas and directions for securing a control over the spirits which were supposed at all times to be able to exercise a certain amount of power over men."[3] The charms, or incantations, themselves, he characterizes as

1 Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, 1905, p. 230.
2 J. F. Payne, *Eng. Medicine in A. S. Times*, 1904, pp. 109, 110.
3 *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 253.

"appeals interspersed with words of a more or less mystic character."[4]

Notwithstanding the fact that charms are of such high antiquity, I have found only one English charm concerning Longinus that has come down to us in Anglo-Saxon.

Wiþ gestice.

Wriþ Cristes mal *and* sing þriwe þaeron þis *and* pater noster, longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitet sanguis et recessit dolor.[5]

Perhaps the most interesting of the Longinus charms, because of its suggestion of ancient tradition, though itself belonging to the Middle English period, is this against the toothache:

A charme for the tethe-werke.

Say the charme thris, to it be sayd IX times, and ay thris at a charemynge.

I conjoure the, laythely beste, with that ilke spere
That Longious in his hand gan bere,
And also with ane hatte of thorne
That one my Lord's hede was borne,
With alle the wordis mare and lesse,
With the Office of the Messe,
With my Lorde and his XII postilles,
With oure Lady and her X, maydenys,
Saynt Margrete, the haly quene,
Saynt Katerin, the haly virgyne,
IX tymes goddis forbott thou wykkyde worme,
That ever thou make any rystynge,
Bot awaye mote thou wende,
To the erde and the stane![6]

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[5] Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, I, 393; cf. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, p. 279; W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 80 (Folk-Lore Society, XII); Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[6] *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 126 ("Paper MS. Lincoln Cathedral A. 1, 17, compiled by Robt. Thornton 1430-1440"). cf. Horstmann, *R. Rolle*, I, 375.

This idea of the worm as the cause of toothache goes back to Babylonia. Rogers says in this connection: "Of all the literature of incantations perhaps no single piece has more human interest than the so-called legend of the worm."

"After Anu [had created the Heavens]
The Heavens created [the Earth]
The Earth created the Rivers
The Rivers created the Canals,
The Canals created the Marshes,
The Marshes created the Worm.
Then came the Worm to weep before Shamash
Before Ea came her tears:—
'What wilt thou give me for my food,
What wilt thou give me to destroy?'
'I will give thee dried bones,
(And) scented . . . . . wood!'
'What are these dried bones to me,
And scented . . . . . wood!'
Let me drink among the teeth,
And set me on the gums (?),
That I may devour the blood of the teeth
And of their gums destroy the strength;
Then shall I hold the bolt of the door"[7]

One wonders how a charm for the toothache became associated with Longinus. The connection may be due to the fact that spear-throwers were used in folk medicine in the cure of the ailment. Frazer, in discussing the transference of evil says: "To cure the toothache some of the Australian blacks apply a heated spear-thrower to the cheek. The spear-thrower is then cast away, and the toothache goes with it, in the shape of a black stone called *karriitch*."[8] This custom probably goes back to

[7] R. W. Rogers, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1908, pp. 155, 156.

[8] *Golden Bough*, II, 149.

early times and may, I think, explain how Longinus and his lance became connected with the charm, the spear naturally suggesting to the christianizing agent the famous Christian spearman.

The charms in which the name of Longinus appears most frequently are those for the staunching of blood. Sometimes his own miraculous healing is referred to, though no direct connection is made between his case and that of the person for whom the charm is used.

(1) *To Staunch Bleeding.*

"A soldier of old thrust a lance into the side of the Saviour; immediately there flowed thence blood and water—the blood of Redemption and the water of Baptism. In the name of the Father ✣ may the blood cease. In the name of the Son ✣ may the blood remain. In the name of the Holy Ghost ✣ may no more blood flow from the mouth, the vein, or the nose."[9]

(2) *ffor to stawnche blode.*

"fferst haue the name of the man or of the woman than go to chirche and sey this charme and loke thow sey hit but for man or woman devoutly. When oure lord jhesus Cryst was don on the cros than longius come thedir and stange hym with hys spere in the syde—blod and watir com out at the wownde he wypid his eyene an saw anon thorow the holy vertu that god showede. y coniure the blode that thou come nozt owt of this cristyn man and nomme the manys name twyes =/ =/ or her name. In nomine patris ✣ et filii ✣ et spiritus sancti ✣ Amen. Say is charme thryes ne dar the neuer recche wher the man or the woman be so thow know his name or her."[10]

[9] W. G. Black, *Folk Medicine*, pp. 79, 80 (MS. *Liber Loci Benedicti de Whally*, 1296-1346); cf. Trin. Coll. Cambr. MS. O. 9, 26 (James 1438), fol. 4b.

[10] Ashmol. MS 1443 (fol. 101). Cf. Holthausen, *Anglia* xix, 80, for an almost identical charm; cf. also O. Ebermann, "Blut- u. Wundsegen," *Palaestra*, xxiv, 46, for a slightly different text.

(3) *Charme for [to] staunche blod.*

"Longeys let our lord Jesum Crizst blod, which blod was holy *and* god. Thorw th*at* iche blod th*at* is holy *and* good, I comawnde þe, Jon or W., þat þow blede no more."[11]

Many others show some confusion, being united, as Ebermann has pointed out, with the Jordan charm.[12] In Ashmolean MS 1418 (Part IV, f. 14) there occurs the following charm:

(4) *for to staunche blood.*

"Longeus that worthy knyght with a spere he persed the syde of our lord, and anon ther went out blod and watter, the blod of redemption, the watter baptism ✣ In the name of the father rest blod, in the name of the sone cese ✣ blod, ✣ in the name of the holy gost goo out no drope of blod, as veryly as we beleve that our lady mary is truly the mother of god, and as verely as she bare her sone Crist, so hold you still vaines and blod, and so rest blod as the watter of Jordaine rested when Crist was baptized in that watter, so rest blod in the name of the blessed trenyte."

Here the Longinus charm has been combined with some such charm as this:

Charm to stop bleeding.

Our Saviour Christ was born in Bethlehem,
And was baptized in the river of Jordan:
The waters were mild of mood,
The child was meek, gentle, and good.
He struck it with a rod and still it stood,
And so shall thy blood stand,
In the name etc.

Say these words thrice, and the Lord's Prayer once.[13]

[11] *Anglia* xix, 80, "Rezepte, Segen u. Zaubersprüche aus zwei Stockholmer Handschriften." (second half of the fourteenth century). O. Ebermann, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[12] *Op. cit.*, 47. Here are found also a number of German Longinus charms.

[13] W. Henderson, *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England*, p. 169; cf. W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, p. 76.

(5) *Charme for to Staunche Blood.*

Longinus miles latus ✣ domini nostri ✣ Ihesu Christi ✣ lancea perforauit, & continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua in redemptionem nostram ✣ Adiuro te sanguis per ✣ ihesum ✣ Christum per ✣ latus eius per ✣ sanguine eius, sta ✣ sta ✣ sta ✣. Christus et Johannes descenderunt in flumen iordanis. Aqua obstipuit & stetit. Sic faciat sanguis istius corporis. In ✣ Christi nomine ✣ et Sancti Johannis Baptiste. Amen, & dicat ter pater noster.[14]

(6) *A charm for the blody flyxe.*

In nomine Patris et Filli et Spiritus sancti,
Amen! Stabat Ihesus contra flumen Jordanus et posuit pedem suum et dixit, "Sancta aqua per Deum! Te conjuro, Longinus miles, latus Domini nostri Jeshu Christi, lancea perforavit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua sanguis redempcionis, aqua baptismatis. In nomine Patris, cessit sanguis! In nomine Filii recessit sanguis! In nomine Spiritus Sancti non exeat sanguis gutta ab hoc famulo Dei, sicut credimus quod sancta Maria vera mater est et verum infantum genuit Christum, sic retineantur vene quam plene sunt sanguine; sic restat sanguis sicut resticit Jordanus quum Christus in eo baptizatus fuerat. In nomine Patris et Filii etc.[15]

A different type is found in charms to draw iron out of wounds. It is not difficult to see how Longinus should have come to be connected with these.

(1) *"A Notable charme or medicine to pull out an arrowhead, or anie such thing that sticketh in the flesh or bones, and cannot otherwise be had out.*

Saie three severall times kneeling: *Oremus, praeceptis salutaribus moniti*, Pater noster ave Maria. Then make a cross saieing: The Hebrew knight strake our Lord Jesu Christ, and I beseech thee, O Lord Jesu Christ by the same iron speare, bloud

[14] MS of the time of Edw. IV. *Notes and Queries*, IV, (7th ser.) 56.

[15] *Reliquiae Antiquae*, I, 315; cf. *Palaestra* XXIV, 47, for a slightly different charm without English title.

and water, to pull out this iron. *In nomine patris & filii & Spiritus sancti.*[16]

(2) *to draw out Yren de Quarell.*

"Longinus Miles Ebreus percussit latus Domini nostri Jesu Christi: sanguis exuit etiam latus; ad se traxit lancea ✣ tetragramaton ✣ Messyas ✣ Sother Emanuel ✣ Sabaoth ✣ Adonay ✣ Unde sicut verba (ista fuerunt verba). Christi, sic exeat ferrum istud sine quarellum ab isto Christiano. Amen. And sey thys Charme five tymes in the worschip of the fyve woundys of Chryst."[17]

A curious French charm of the thirteenth century is found in a Cambridge MS:

"Treis bons freres estoient ke aloient al mont d'Olivet por coillir herbes bones a plaie & a garison. Et ancontrerent nostre Seignor Jesu Crist, & nostre Seignor lor demanda: "Treis bons freres, ou alez vous? & il responderent: 'Al mont d'Olivet por coillir herbes de plaie & de garison.' Et Nostre Sire dit a eus: 'Venez o moi, & me grantez en bone fei ke vous nel diez a nul home ne a femme ne aprendrez: Pernez oile d'olive & leine ke unkes ne fust lavee, & metez sor la plaie.' Quaunt Longins l'ebreu aficha la launce en le costé nostre seignor Jesu Crist, cele plaie ne seigna, ele n'emfla point; ele ne puoit mie, ele ne doloit mie, ele ne rencla mie, el n'eschaufa mie. Ausi ceste plaie ne seine mès, n'emfle point, ne pue mie, ne doile mie, ne rancie point, n'eschaufe mie. En le nun del Piere, el nom del Fiz, el nun del Seint Espirit. *Pater Noster* treis fois."[18]

The Longinus ballad in Wales, cited in part in another connection,[19] is also of the nature of a charm as is shown by the context. In a note the editor adds: "The

[16] Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1st ed. 1584; ed. B. Nicholson, Lond. 1886, pp. 219, 20. Incomplete in Ebermann, *op. cit.*, 50.

[17] W. G. Black, *op. cit.*, p. 79. Without English beginning and ending in Ebermann, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[18] P. Meyer, "Les MSS Français de Cambridge, Trinity College," *Romania* xxxii, 77.

[19] Cf. p. 164.

poem goes on to express the notion of Mary's dominion over Purgatory; 'Over the mountain, the cold mountain, I saw Mary with a halo about her head establishing a place betwixt every soul and hell:' and promises immunity from evil dreams to such as record and say the lines."[20]

[20] Robt. Owen, *Sanctorale Catholicum*, 142. Owen adds, Longinus is called in Brittany "*Longius am dall*," the blind. This recalls a Spanish expression, "*el finzido Longinos*," applied to beggars pretending to be blind. *El Donado hablador*, novella del Doctor J. de Alcala (1624), p. 510.

CHAPTER VI

LONGINUS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

In English literature the story of Longinus appears frequently. From the tenth to the sixteenth centuries[1] his legend is found in every type of literary production. Naturally the metrical Lives of the Saints, or Festials, find place for so popular a legend. The early sermons for feast days that were drawn from these festials likewise include his story. Later mystic homilists of the Richard Rolle type show little interest in the martyrdom of Longinus, but in directing attention to the suffering of Christ on the cross and to the divine love that would sacrifice itself for the happiness of sinful man, they dwell on the divine act itself—the shedding of the blood of redemption and the miraculous water of baptism; and so celebrating the deed, they recall also the spearman intimately connected with it. The emphasis is shifted according to the mood of the writer, from the wicked, dolorous act which showed the ingratitude of man for the great sacrifice made by Jesus, to the blessed consequences which followed the stroke of the spear. The blood of Christ shed at the crucifixion of the Saviour became through the church the sustenance of man and the means of making him one with God. Occasionally Longinus's legend is

[1] It is surprising to note that Longinus has been made the subject of a nineteenth century English poem. Aubrey de Vere (*Legends and Records of the Church and Empire*, 1887, p. 33) has turned back to the old martyrologies for inspiration, and written the life of Saint Longinus, without, however, giving the old story any fresh turn. It is a more or less mechanical rehearsal of the events in the life of the martyr.

used to illustrate the great mercy of Jesus in granting pardon, and confirming it by a miracle of healing, even at the moment when Longinus was depriving him of life.

From these sermons—themselves more or less lyric expressions of the ardent love of his followers for Jesus,—it is an easy step to the definite lyrical type found in the Hours of the Cross, the Meditations on the Passion, the Sorrows of the Virgin, and to the pure lyric which has for its burden divine love.

In addition to these special types of religious literature, there are the narrative poems on the Passion, which deal at length with the sufferings of Jesus, into which laments, meditations and lyrics are introduced.

Closely related to these passion poems stands the treatment of the life and sufferings of the Saviour in the religious drama. Here the legend of Longinus becomes of great importance, enabling the dramatist, as it does, to represent in fullest reality the agony of Jesus on the cross, the divine grace shown by Jesus to his chief tormentor, and the establishment through the suffering of Jesus of the church as his representative on earth.

Longinus is likewise introduced into the crusading romances that have to do with the regaining of the Holy Land, or the relics of Christ's passion, from the heathen. All relics in the Middle Ages were venerated and believed to possess miraculous power; but those connected with the passion itself were of the greatest significance, as precious in themselves, and as retaining somewhat the divine power of Jesus himself. In the Middle Ages no dividing line was drawn between religious and secular literature. Consequently, a legend, popular in one kind of writing, was inevitably carried over into the other. As a result saints and martyrs became heroes of romance,

and heathen gods and heroes became Christian saints, with feast days in the calendar of the church. Christian explanations attached themselves to the productions of pagan art. Heathen charms were transformed into Christian exorcisms. Mary took the place in secular song of the lover's mistress; Jesus replaced the earthly lover. There is no distinction in types used; whether in secular love-lyric, vision poem, dirge, romance or drama, the religious writer employed exactly the same forms, frequently with only the slightest modification.

Not only is the legend of Longinus embodied in every literary type known in the Middle Ages; it is found in the writings of the great, as well as in those of the obscure. The author of *Piers Plowman,* Chaucer, Lydgate, all made use of the familiar story.[1]

[1] Interesting as showing its very general employment for all kinds of purposes, is the appearance of Longinus in a poem written by Walter Map, when Archdeacon of Oxford, against the Cistercians. According to Giraldus Cambrensis (*Opera* IV, 219) Map's ill-feeling toward the Cistercians was due to some trouble he had with them over the rights of his church at Westbury. Only one line of Map's poem has been preserved, and that is found in the reply made by Canon Bothewald of Saint Frideswide to Map. This invective is printed in the catalogue of the Ashmolean MSS (MS 1281, fol. 272 b). Cf. *Latin Poems of Walter Mapes*, T. Wright, Camden Society, 1841, app. p. xxxv:

> Lancea Longini, grex albus, ordo nephandus,
> Cum monachis albis Longini lancea venit:
> Non quoniam feriant, sed feriantur ea,
> Lancea sunt illis vilis cibus, aspera vestis,
> Mansio deserti, nocte dieque labor.
> Cum contempnantur, et plus aliis patiantur.
> Pro Christo, non est ordo nephandus eis.
> Ordo quisque bonus, set non bonus ordine quivis:
> Nec tamen ordo sue laudis honore caret, etc.

The poem contains 90 lines.

§1. Homilies and Homiletic Treatises

The earliest vernacular account of Longinus that I have found, occurs in Ælfric's alliterative metrical homily, *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross.* Ælfric in adding the story of Longinus appears to have departed slightly from the current usage in such sermons, offering in this respect the first illustration of what later occurs frequently. The English writer often, on finding in his Latin or French source mention of the lance or of the sufferings of the crucifixion, was reminded of Longinus and so enlarged his original by the addition of the legend. For Ælfric's sermon I have found no definite source,[2] but very similar sermons are common. St. Andrew of Crete in his homily *De Sancta Cruce*[3] refers to the piercing of the side of Jesus on the cross. Joseph, Archbishop of Thessalonica,[4] in the same connection, mentions the sacred wood of the cross, the nails, the lance. Callisti, Patriarch of Constantinople[5] (later, of course, than Ælfric), includes in his homily on the *Exaltation of the Cross* reference to the conversion of the centurion at the cross. Ælfric, then, seems to be following the general type of such homilies. He uses the story of Longinus to show the great mercy of the Saviour:

> Swa milde is se hælend þæt he miltsian wolde
> his agenum slagum gif hi gecyrran woldon.
> and biddan his miltsunge . swa swa heora mænig dyde.

2 The sources of this sermon have not been considered by the various investigators of Ælfric's sources, J. H. Ott, M. Förster, C. L. White.

3 Gretser, *Opera* (1734), II, 72.

4 *Ibid.*, 85.

5 *Ibid.*, 191.

swa swa se hundredes ealdor . þe hine hetelice stang
on his halgan sidan . and siððan him beah to.
se hundredes ealdor hatte longinus.
He geseah ða sona hu seo sunne aþystrode.
fram mid-dæge oð non . and eall middan-eard bifode.
and stanas toburston . þa beah he to criste
sleande his breost . and secgende hlude.
Uere . filius dei est hic . Soþlice þæs is godes sunu.
He forlet ða his folgoð . and ferde to þam apostolum.
and wearð gelæred to geleafan þurh hi.
and mid fulluhte aþwagen fram his fyrlenum dædum.
He dælde þa his eahta ealle on ælmyssan.
and on clænnysse leofode . swa swa cristes ðegen.
on mycelre forhæfednysse . and þam hæþenum bodade
þone soþan geleafan . and synne forgifennysse.
and to-wearp deofolgild . and wundra gefremode
on godes naman . oð þaet sum gramlic dema
hine ge-martyrode mid micclum witum.
Ac he worhte fela wundra ætforan þam deman.
betwux þam tintregum . and ablende þone deman
þurh godes mihte . þæt menn mihton tocnawon (*sic*)
hu mildheort se hælend is . þe hine mersode swa.
He wearþ þa . beheafdod for ðaes hælendes naman.
þone þe he ær gewundode wælhreowlice on rode.
and wunað on ecnysse on wuldre mid him.
Octauius hatte se hæþena dema
þe hine acwealde . ac he com siððan
þær he ofslagen wæs . and gesohte his lic
biddende forgifennysse mid wope and heofunge.
Þa geseah he sona gesundfullum eagum.
þurh þone ylcan onliht þe hine ær ablende.
and se dema þa deorwurðlice bebyrigde
longines lichaman . and gelyfde on crist
æfre wuldrigende god . oð þæt he gewat of life.
Sy wuldor and lof þam wel-willendan gode.
Se ðe æfre rixað on ecnysse. AMEN.[6]

Ælfric's story of Longinus resembles the general type found in the first account in the *Acta Sanctorum*. He

[6] *Lives of the Saints*, *EETS*., 94, 154 ff.; cf. Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, *EETS*., 46, 107. Skeat, *EETS*., 94, p. xxiv, dates the *Lives of the Saints* about the year 994.

omits some details: he does not mention Cæsarea as the place of the martyrdom, he does not include the long conversation with the judge, the tortures, the recognition of Longinus by the demons—in fact, many of the stock details found usually in the acts of saints. Longinus in this account is the centurion, and there is no reference to his blindness.

The next mention of Longinus—this time a slight one—occurs in a thirteenth century sermon, *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*. This homily is interesting in two respects: it speaks of Christ after the fashion of the mediæval mystics, in phrases which closely correspond to those used in the secular love lyrics of the time; and it refers also to the sacramental and mystical blood of redemption and water of baptism, the fruit of Christ's death.

"Bote ne þinche ham nawt ðet þat he is ful pinet ne þat rewfule deade bodi nulen ha nawt friðie. Bringen forð longis wið þat brade scharpe spere. He þurles his side cleues tat herte. And cumes flowinde ut of þat wide wunde, þe blod þat bohte, þe water þat te world wesch of sake and of sunne."[7]

There is here perhaps a slight implication of the blindness of Longinus in the suggestion that he was led forth.

Curious in its relation to the *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd*, is a treatise of the following century, entitled *A Talkyng of þe Loue of God*. Horstmann prints the latter from the Vernon MS, the only MS in which it is known to occur. Horstmann calls it an imitation of Richard Rolle, "the work of a (probably young) monk of the Fra Angelico type, who, shut out from the world in his monastery, finds comfort in sweet meditation and

[7] *Old English Homilies* (XII, XIII centuries) ed. by Morris, *EETS.*, 29 and 34, 283.

song. It is one of the pearls of Old English literature." This treatise is not only an imitation of Rolle, of whose *Meditatio de Passione Domini*[8] there are in the *Talkyng* definite reminders in phrase and incident, but it is a combination of two earlier homilies. Attention has not been called to the fact, so far as I know, that the first eight pages reproduce with enlargement the homily known as *On Ureisun of oure Louerde,* and that the last thirteen reproduce quite as definitely *þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd.*[9]

The reference to Longinus in the *Talkyng* occurs in the following passage:

But ȝit my derworþe leof whon þei hedden þe slayn. al at heor wille, ne þȝouȝte hem not þat Inouȝ, þat þei seȝe þi dede bodi so reuþli honge on Roode; ne wolde þei not spare þe de[d] ne o-lyue, but brouhte forþ Longius þat was a blynd kniht, and token him a scharp spere to stinge þorw þin herte, so þat hit clef

[8] *Engl. Stud.* VII, 454 ff.; also *Rich. Rolle of Hampole*, I, 83 ff. Morris, *op. cit.*, p. x, takes the *Wohunge* to be a paraphrase of a portion of the *Ancren Riwle* and perhaps, in its original form, by the same author.

[9] The sources and authorship of the *Wohunge* and the *Ureison* have been investigated by Einenkel, *Anglia V*, 265 ff., and by Vollhardt (*Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur auf der englischen Ubergangsperiode*, 1888). Einenkel finds resemblances to the *Ancren Riwle*, *Sawles Warde*, and *Holi Meidenhod*, and attempts to show that the *Wohunge* and the *Ureison* were written by nuns for whom the Lord was in the Middle Ages the type of the perfect man, just as the Virgin was for the monks the type of the perfect woman. Vollhardt dismisses as unfounded the question of a woman's authorship, and shows that such mystic, fervid expression of adoration of Christ was common in the Latin writers most influential in mediaeval Christian English writing. Vollhardt (p. 48 ff.) cites interesting parallels to the *Wohunge* and the *Ureison* found in *Meditationes* and *Orationes* of Anselm, with additions from the *De Anima* of Hugo of Saint Victor. The present writer expects to consider this matter more fully in a separate study.

a-tuo and of þat ilke welle of lyf, þorw þat grisly wounde: runne two floodes: þi Riche precious blod þat al þe world bou3te, and þat deore holy water þat al þis world wosch Of sake and of synne.[10]

Though Longinus is here referred to as blind, nothing is said of his healing or conversion. The interest is not, of course, in the story of Longinus. But that his name was almost indissolubly connected with the wound in the side of Christ is clearly indicated. The account of the passion is one of the passages most enlarged by the later writer. Here he definitely reminds one of Rolle, dwelling as he does on the horrible suffering of Christ on the cross, and of Mary in witnessing her son's agony.

§2. The Gospel of Nicodemus

The great popularity of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in England has been discussed by Wülker, who pointed out its significance in Western literature, and later by Professor Hulme in the introduction to his edition of the poetical Middle English versions.[11] It was repeatedly translated in both poetry and prose. The separate legends which it includes were by this means scattered everywhere. Though the texts now in existence are not of earlier date than the fifteenth century, Professor Hulme thinks the poetical version "was probably first translated not far from the beginning of the fourteenth century."[12] He calls attention to the fact that the "in-

[10] Horstmann, *R. Rolle* II, 361.

[11] R. P. Wülker, *Das Evangelium Nichodemi in des abendländischen Literatur*, 18 ff., 66 ff.; W. H. Hulme, *The M. E. Harrowing of Hell*, etc., *EETS.*, e. s. 100.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

fluence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* was felt in English literature long before the period of the religious drama," and says the Latin version was known in England not long after the introduction of Christianity.[13]

The metrical versions printed by Professor Hulme are from the following MSS: B. M. Cotton Galba E. IX; B. M. Harl. 4196; B. M. Addit. 32,578; Sion College arc. L. 40.[14] The reference to Longinus contained in these texts is slight. The Harley and the Cotton MSS do not mention Longinus by name, nor do they give the legend, though they betray its influence in the statement that the spearman is blind. The Harley reads:

l. 625 A blynd knyght, so thoght þam best,
A spere þai gaf gud spede;
To Ihesu syde þai gan it threst,
And blode and water out yhede.

Aside from the blindness, there is here no addition to the Latin original. The Sion MS adds also the name Longinus. It is in the Additional MS, however, that the influence of the legend appears most clearly. In this, one not only finds Longinus named, but also mention of the cure of his blindness:

To longeus an betoke a spere
A blynde knyght was in þat rowte;
To ihesu herte he gon it bere,
And watre & blode anon wente oute
And sprent on longeus eghen þere
And sone he sawe witnouten doute

The *Gospel of Nicodemus* was current in English also in a number of prose versions.[15] Some of these give no

[13] *Ibid.*, p. lxvii.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. xv ff. for description and relation of the MSS.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii ff. for list and description of prose MSS.

fuller account of the story of Longinus than is found in the metrical version. The Salisbury Cathedral MS 39 (fol. 135), the British Museum MS Additional 16165 (fol. 101), and the Worcester Cathedral MS 172 (fol. 4)[16] all make brief reference to Longinus. They all follow the Latin original closely.

The Worcester Cathedral MS reads: "Longius the knyght forsoth takyng a spere opened his side and ther issued out bloode and water."

In the later versions the story is elaborated. MS Harl. 149, which is "comparatively late," according to Professor Hulme, and shows "traces of modernization," gives a much fuller account:

(fol. 261) "Than the prynces comaunded a knyght named Longeus that he schuld perce hys syde w*yth* a spere (fol. 262) And he so dyd and oute of the wownde came bloode and watyr whych ranne alonge by the spere to hys honde, and w*yth* the same honde he touched hys yghen and forthwythal, hys syght was restoryd and bare wytnes of trowthe. And al thys was done vppon the mownte of Golgotha whych now ys called Caluarye."

Somewhat different is the story found in the Black Letter edition of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* by Wynken de Worde (1509):[17]

"And than sayd the knightes in scorne yf þu be kynge of Iewes delyuer now thyselfe/ and than was co*m*maunded that a knyght sholde be broughte forthe whose name was Longeus/ and hym they made to put a spere to Ihesus syde. This knyght Longeus was blynde and soo the prynces of the lawe made hym for to perce our lordes syde/ and so there came out of it bothe blode and water/ *and* so the blode came rennynge downe by the spere shafte vnto Longeus hande/ and he by auenture weped his eyen with his hande/ and anone he dyde se."

[16] Prof. Hulme has most generously allowed me to use his transcripts of these and the following prose MSS.

[17] P. 18. Cf. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. lvii, for discussion of early printed versions. For the use of this transcript also I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Hulme.

Closely related to the Gospel of Nicodemus[18] and containing likewise references to Longinus, is the so-called *Siege of Jerusalem* attributed to Adam Davy.[19] The poem is a long one, written in rhyming couplets.[20] Bergau[21] considers four MSS: Laud 622, Douce 78, Digby 230, Additional 10036. He comments on the fact that it is called variously "The Bataile of Jerusalem," the title in Laud MS; "The Vengeance of Goddes Deth," found at the end of the Laud MS; or "The Sege of Jerusalem," the form used at the close of the Digby MS. The poem is difficult to classify. Bergau calls it "eine Art religiösen Epos . . . geschrieben zum Lob und Preise unseres Heilandes Jesu Christi."[22] He divides it into four parts: the Passion of Christ, the Healing of Vespasian, the Siege of Jerusalem, the Punishment of the Jews.[23]

The section devoted to the Passion—which is the only one of concern to the present study—is based, as the au-

[18] Prof. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. xxii: "In its complete form this poem does contain (ll. 395-666) the principal features of the Gospel."

[19] The catalogue description of Douce MS 78 states that the poem was at one time ascribed to Adam Davy, and even to Lydgate. It was written the third quarter of the fifteenth century (?) Dr. Henry Bradley (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*) says of Davy that he was "a fanatical rhymer" who "has obtained unmerited importance in literary history from the fact that he was formerly supposed to be the author of all the poetry contained in the Bodl. MS Laud 622." He sees no reason why he should not have written the present poem, "though there is no real evidence on the point."

[20] Another version written in alliterative verse I have not been able to examine.

[21] F. Bergau, *The Vengeance of Goddes Death*, Konigsberg, 1901.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

thor expressly informs us, upon the Gospels and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*:—

v. 7 ff. Gospelles I drawe to witnesse
of þis matere more and lesse
And þe passioun of Nichodeme
Who þat takeþ right goo̅ yeme.[24]

Reference to the healing and conversion of Longinus is introduced in the course of a brief summary of the wonders attending the death of Jesus. I quote from the text of MS. Douce 78 (fol. 30a):

And as sone as Criste was broȝte of lyfe
þer fylle mony wondres also blyfe
Some of þam y schall you telle
þay byn as trewe as is þe gospelle
When Centurio behilde and saide þus
Verely þis is godis ihesus
And so dede longeus þe blynde knyȝhte
Aftur þat he had his syȝte
þe temple of þe iewys a to dede clefe
And men y beryd ded and deffe
Dede arise and walke aboute
Fro towne to towne a grette route.[25]

[24] Cf. Bergau, p. 42, for sources of the whole poem.

[25] A fragment is found in a Pepysian MS printed by R. Fischer, (*Archiv.* 111, 285 ff. and 112, 25 ff.) under the title *Vindicta Salvatoris*. It does not, however, contain the Longinus incident. The whole poem has also been edited by J. A. Herbert, 1905, for the Roxburghe Club. This edition I have not seen. Besides these printed texts and the MSS already referred to, there are numerous MS versions. To those enumerated by Bergau and Kopke may be added: (1) B. M. Addit. MS, 36523 (middle of XV cent.) Art. 1; (2) Ashurnham Addit. MS, 130 (XIV-XV cent.) Art. 3, (Hist. MSS C. Rep. VII, 106); (3) Harl. 4733; (4) B. M. Addit. 36983, Art. 6.

§3. The Cursor Mundi

The story of Longinus naturally appears in the *Cursor Mundi*,[26] described by Morris as a storehouse of religious legends and quaint conceits. In the four manuscripts printed by Morris, the story occurs in two forms. The shorter form is found, with little variation, in MSS Fairfax, Göttingen, and Trinity. I quote the passage from the Trinity text:

ll. 16834 ff. Of him [Jesus] brake þei no bone
But blynde longeus wiþ a spere:
þat kny3t was one
Þe iewes made him þour3e his side:
to put hit sone anone
A3ein his wille he hid dude:
þerfore he made mone
Blood & watir out of his syde:
Muchel þo þere ran
Of þat blood ran to his hond:
his si3te soone he wan.

It is to be noted that Longinus is represented here as unwilling to do the deed—an early instance of this detail.

The Cotton MS of the *Cursor* contains an interesting interpolation. Hupe calls attention to the fact that this manuscript, following l. 16814, adds 72 extra lines, written in a second hand and in a different (Midland) dialect.[27] The Longinus story is a part of this addition. It runs as follows:

l. 21 (Add.) Of oure lorde brake þai no lym,
For he was ded by-fore,
Bot calden a blynd knight
To wirk after þer lore,

[26] Ed. Morris, *EETS.*
[27] *Cursor Mundi,* Introd. p. 63*.

With a spere in hand
And til his hert hit sett,
þer-with he therled his hert,
Bothe blode & water oute lett
By þe spere til his hand
Ran doun of his blode,
He wipped is egen þer-withe
And si3t he hade ful gode.
"Mercy," he cried, "oure lord!"
And gart cristen him I-wis
Sithen for his luf was slayn
And a gode marter is.

Though the name Longinus is not mentioned here as in the other MSS, the story is much fuller, containing as it does, reference to the subsequent life and martyrdom of Longinus. His cry for mercy is, moreover, suggestive of the dramatic treatment of the story.[28]

§4. The South English Legendary

In the South English Legendary the legend of St. Longinus, though absent from what Horstmann[29] takes to be the oldest extant MS, Laud 108 (about 1285-95), is included in many of the later versions.[30] This great

[28] Professor Carleton Brown, "The *Cursor Mundi* and the Southern Passion," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Jan., 1911, has shown, since the above was written, that this Cotton interpolation was borrowed from the "Southern Passion," the corresponding passage of which he prints from Harl. MS, 2277. See for the Longinus episode, ll. 23 ff.

[29] C. Horstmann, *South English Legendary*, *EETS*. 87, p. xlll.

[30] The life of Longinus appears in the following MSS (cf. Horstmann, *South English Leg.*, *EETS*, p. xiv ff.): Corp. Chr. Coll. Cambr. 145 (*ca.* 1320), no. 21, fol. 32 (cf. Zupitza, *Anglia* I, 397); Egerton 1993 (*ca.* 1320), no. 31, fol. 119; Vernon (*ca.* 1380), no. 18, fol. 14; Trinity Coll. Cambr. R. 3, 25 (James no. 605) (*ca.* 1400), no. 25, fol. 50, and no. 63, fol. 122; St. John's Coll. Cambr. B. 6; cf. also Horstmann, *Altengl. Legenden*, Paderborn,

Festial, like the *Legenda Aurea,* of which it is apparently independent, is a storehouse of legends—a collection of sermons or material for sermons for all the festivals of the year. Horstmann, who recognizes it as "one of the most important works of mediæval literature," discusses its formation: "The collection grew slowly . . .; it was the work of many decades of years, of many collaborators, most likely the joint work of a whole abbey, that of Gloucester, where the plan seems to have been fixed and brought into definite shape."[31]

Though the story of Longinus does not occur in the Laud MS 108, there is reason to believe that it was incorporated into the Festial only a trifle later. In the list of contents of MS Harleian 2277 and MS Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 145, printed by Horstmann, St. Longinus is no. 21. Unfortunately, in the Harleian (about 1300), long considered the oldest MS of the Festial, the first 24 numbers are now missing.

The text I give here is from Laud MS Miscell. 463 (fol. 16^{b}). The catalogue states that it is an English Festial of the fourteenth century.

Seint Longius was a blind knyght, þo *Chr*ist was done on rode
Pilat him made our lord stynge a*nd* o*þer þat þer* stode
To his herte he smote þe spere þo he feld þe blod
Þer with he wipte is blind eyen and þei were cler a*nd* god
Þis knight þo he my*3*te see, he saw þe erþe quake
And þe eclips of þhe sonne þe deuel he gan forsake
Of the apostles he let him *christ*ene and siþe by he rede

1875, p. xxx, ff.: Trin. Coll. Oxford 57 (end of fourteenth century); Laud Misc. 463 (beginning of the fifteenth century), no. 22, fol. 16. The life of Longinus appears also in the following MSS, the contents of which are not given by Horstmann: Add. 10301 (fourteenth century), fol. 68; Tanner 17 (fifteenth century), no. 22, fol. 30; Pepys 2344.

[31] *EETS.*, 87, p. viii.

In þe lond of Capadoce hard lyf he gan lede
A maner monk as þei he were seuene *and* twenty ȝere
Þis holi man sent longius in penaunce woned þer
Þe luþer prince was þere herde of him speke
So he lette fette hym to his *chr*istdom to breke
He bad him hono*ure* is fals godes bot he him *with* seide
A*nd* seide he might as wel be stille *with* is fole rede
Þe prince let for wratthe þo all þe teþ *in* his heued
With strong yren draw out þ*er* was not on bileued
Siþe he hat kerue of is tonge Faste bi þe more
A*nd* ȝet he spak þorw godes *gra*ce as he dide bifore
Sire prince he seide i am belimed for þin false godes loue
let mi lord þoru me *with* he*m* speke a*nd* loke who shal beo aboue
Seint longeus all her fals goddes *with* an ax alto drow
Þe deueles flowen þikke out and maden deol y now
Þai went anon to þe luþer men *þat þer* aboute stode
Some bicome blinde anon some gydye a*nd* wode
And to drowe alle here limes *with* o*þer* sorwe y now
Þe prince was bothe bli*nd* and wod and all his limes to gnow
Longius axed þes foule wightes whi þei woned þere
In mamutes a*nd in* fals godes more þan elles where
Þei seide we mow no wer men so wel bitraye
As þ*er with* fals bileue ne our maistre so wel paye
A*nd* for god is not þer nempd ne is signe is not þere
Þ*er*fore god þes we have þer a*nd* reste *with* oute fere
Sei*nt* longius for þou ȝt *þat þe* prince himself had so y gnawe
Þu worst neu*er* he seide hol ar þu me bringe of dawe
A*nd* þan*ne* i wol bidde for þe þat our lord shal þe sende
hele of body and of soule in his se*r*uise to ende
Þe prince let smyte of is hed as had er i seid
bifore þe bodi fel adoun a*nd* for ȝeuenes bed
Our lord him sent is wit a ȝen and his eyen also
Sei*nt* Longeus he had m*er*cy of þat he hadde misdo
He let him baptise anon and bicom gode man w*ith* alle
Þe godnesse þat he hadde þer bi sei*nt* longius gon bifall
Now god for þy mercy þat þu seint longius hast y do
for ȝeue us our misd*e*de her a*nd* bring us to heuen also.[32]

[32] The legend of Longinus is found also in the Passion included in the *South English Legendary*. Horstmann gives the contents of the Passion in MS St. John's Coll. Cambr. B. 6 (*c.* 1400) and mentions Longinus (*Altenglischen Legenden*, Neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881, Lv). It is probably contained also in other

The story as given here follows closely the Golden Legend type, though I do not mean to imply that it is taken from Voragine. The questions of the judge and the Aphrodisius episode are omitted, and the whole account is much more popular in tone. This full form of the story never really got into literary usage. The cruel judge and the miracle of his healing are heard of no more.

Caxton's translation of the *Legenda Aurea* should perhaps be noted in this connection. In the legend of Longinus, Caxton appears to follow the Latin text. This particular legend is not discussed by Butler, but as he does not include it in his lists of those specifically drawn from the English or the French sources, I infer that he would derive it from the Latin version. It is fuller than the Latin, but contains no incidents that cannot be accounted for by the Latin text.[33]

§5. The "Northern Passion"

The Longinus story is of importance in the "Northern Passion," which exists in several manuscripts.[34] Horst-

MSS of the *South English Legendary*. In Horstmann's lists of the contents of these MSS (*EETS*., 87, XIII ff.) the Passion appears in the following: Harl. 2277 (*c.* 1300); King's Coll. Cambr. 15 (*c.* 1350); Vernon (*c.* 1380), no. 33; Trin. Coll. Oxf. 57 (*c.* 1380) without first days of Passion Week; Laud L 70; Tanner 17 (fifteenth century); Bodl. 779 (fifteenth century), no. 8. Professor Carleton Brown has published, since the above was written, the part of the "Southern Passion," which contains the Longinus episode from Harl. 2277 (cf. note 28). Miss M. M. Keiller is preparing an edition of the "Southern Passion" from several MSS.

[33] Cf. Pierce Butler, *Golden Legend*, p. 75, for discussion of sources. He does not identify the English source.

[34] Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, Heilbronn, 1881, p. lxvi, discusses the Northern Passion in Cambr. Univ. MS Gg. 5 31: "Dieselbe Passio begegnet, ohne die nördliche Samm-

mann has printed a portion of it from Harleian 4196 (*Archiv.* 57, 78 ff.). This version in the part which introduces the story of Longinus, differs somewhat in arrangement from the usual type; the centurion story does not immediately precede the Longinus episode as it usually does in passion poems and in the mediæval drama.

I give the text here from Ashmole MS 61.[35] The poem in question begins at fol. 87[b] with the lines:

> "Lystyns lordynges I wyll you telle
> of mekyll pete I may you spelle"

The Longinus story comes at fol. 104[a]:

> Besyde þe rode *þer* stod a man
> His ry3ht name telle you I can
> A gret cry he gan make
> When he sey þe wondis slake
> Centyr *þat* was hys name
> For hys cry þe jeues gane schame
> He seyd *þis* is godis sone
> Therfore þei dyd hy*m* in pr*i*sone
> The oþer dey aboute none
> When þat day was all done

lung, in MS Gg. I, 1, fol. 122 . . . hier im südlichen Dialect, . . . ferner in MS Ff. V, 48, Ii, IV, 9; in Dd. I, 1, . . . In Harl. 4196 ist sie in die Sammlung selbst aufgenommen, zugleich umgearbeitet und am Ende durch einige Zusätze, zu denen das northumbr. Evang. Nicod. oft wörtlich benützt ist, vermehrt (solche Zusätze sind die Abschnitte Joseph petiit corpus Jhesu, de liberatione Joseph a carcere). Meine frühere, auf diese Gleichheit gestützte Annahme, dass die Passio vom Dichter des Evang. Nicod. herrühre, ist nicht richtig, da die Passio weit älter ist, wohl aber ist wahrscheinlich, dass der Dichter des Ev. Nic. der Umdichter der Harl.-Version der Passio ist."

[35] Ashmol. 61 is described by Black as "a collection of Metrical Romances, Lays and other Poems in Old English, made by one Rate, in or before the time of Henry VII" (*Catal. of Ashmole MSS*, Oxford, 1845, col. 106).

There come a man of ryche se
That dwellyd in þat contre
Joseph was hys name ryue
He loued Jhesu as hys lyue
Forth anone he wente hys gate
To he come to *sire* pylate
He seyd *sire* pylat *I* praye the
That body þu grante me
Soffere me to take hym done
Or þat I hens gone
Syre pylat seyd I grante þe
We wyll wyte fyrst if he dede be
He callyd forth knyȝhts hende
With Joseph forto wende
As he seyd unto Jhesu
And loke þat he be dede inow
ȝiff he be dede take hym doune stylle
And late Joseph haue hys wylle
The knyȝhts þer gane forth gone
To þe rode þei come anone
First þei come þe þeues to
Boþe þer theys wer broke in two
Seth þei stode in þat place
And beheld Jhesu in þe face
The sey well þat Jhesus was dede
To breke hys bonys it was no nede
Besyde þe rude stude a knyght
That longe hade foregone hys syght
Longeus was þat knyȝhtys name
He was bothe blynd and lame
They made hym under Jhesus stond
And pute a spere in his hond
They leyd þe spere to Jhesus syde
Pute up þei seyd what so betyde
Longeus pute þe spere hym fro
To Jhesu herte it gane go
The blode gane anone oute sprynge
And þe water anone oute wrynge
Fro synne we wer with hys blod bouȝht
And fro hell þar we wer brouȝht
Longeus stode welle styll þan
By hys fyngerys þe blode ranne
With þat blode he wyped hys face

Than of hys syght he hade grace
On hys kneys he gane doune falle
And of Jhesu mersy calle
He sey I wyst not what I dede
Bot as oper hade me bede
Joseph toke done þe body anone
And leyd it in a feyre stone.[36]

Though it is dangerous to cite parallels when only short sections of long poems have been carefully examined, it may be well to call attention to the fact that there is a slight resemblance between the story of Longinus in the "Northern Passion" and that found in *The Lamentation of our Lady and Saint Bernard.* This general resemblance is perhaps a little strengthened by the use of a line in the Vernon text common to all the versions of the "Northern Passion," "Beside the rood there stood a knyght," etc.[37]

[36] The story of Longinus as here given is practically the same in this group of eight MSS; (1) Ashmole 61, (2) Cambr. Dd. 1.1 (second half of fourteenth century), fol. 18b (a part of the Longinus story is missing where the MS is torn); (3) Cambr. Gg. 1.1 (first half of fourteenth century), no. 11, fol. 133a; (4) Cambr. Gg. 5.31 (early fifteenth century), no. 3, fol. 169a; (5) Cambr. Ii, 4.9 (handwriting of the fifteenth century), fol. 37a; (6) B. M. Addit. 31.042, no. 3; (7) Cambr. Ff. 5.48 (fifteenth century) no. 5, fol. 39a (signed Gilbert Pilkington, who according to S. Lee, *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, fl. 1350, and is the reputed author of "The Tournament of Tottenham"); (8) Rawl. C. 86 (end of the fifteenth century), fol. 26b. (at the end: "Iste liber constat [words erased] Wyllimis Aylysburry monachus Sancti Salvatoris de Bermundsey"). Cf. G. L. Kittredge, *Am. Journ. Philol. X*, 2; Hammond, *Chaucer Bibl. Man.* p. 185. Miss F. A. Foster of Bryn Mawr College is engaged in editing the Northern Passion from nine MSS.

[37] Cf. note 67 for resemblance to the *Lamentation of our Lady.*

§6. Other Poems on the Passion

The story of Longinus, cast in much the usual form, appears in an unprinted fifteenth century poem on the Passion, found in Cambridge University MS Dd. 11, 89, fol. 183[b]. It is written in alternate rhyming lines:

Longinus brouȝte a spere ful kene
And set hit to his swete syde
Þoruȝ bidding of his enemyes breme
He made þere a wounde ful wyde

His swete herte þat was so dene
Wiþ þat spere was opened þo
Þer ran out water *and* blod ful schene
Þat was raunsom of oure wo

Þer was mercy y seye ful son
Þe knyȝt hadde y ben blyn ful longe
Þe herte blod by þe spere doun ron
He felede hit wet upon his honde

Þer wiþ he wippede boþe his eyen
Þoruȝ þat blod he hadde þe grace
Anon þat bodj ful wel he seyȝe
Þat þere was honged in þat place

Mercy he gan crie ful sone
And in his herte he sikede sore
Þe fader of heuene herde his bone
Hit was forȝeuen hym ryȝt þore.[38]

The unknown author of the Scottish *Legends of the Saints,* though he does not include Longinus in his calendar of saints, tells the story of his healing and mar-

[38] Title, "How ich Cristenman owe for to hafe a remembrance of the passion of our Lord Jesu Criste."
It begins: Of alle the joyes that in this worlde may be
That thorw wyt to man myth be ordeyned and wroute
A swete lofe thowt is praised of me, etc.

tyrdom in the account of the life of Christ which he gives in his Prologue:

l.37 I hafe translatit symply
sume part, as a fand in story,
of Mary & hir sone Ihesu.
. . . . . .
l.69 & hou þat longius, þe knycht
þat of his ene had tynt þe sycht,
& mad ȝet þare in cristes syd
a slope, þat ves bath lang & vyd,
vith ane scharpe spere a-pon þe rud,
bot, quhen til his hand ran þe blud,
& vith þat hand [he] twechit his he,
thru grace of god he can se,
& syne of god sic grace he had,
þat for hyme he ves martyre mad.[39]

The following Cornish Passion follows closely the general type:

217.
In aga herwyth y ȝese· vn
marreg longis hynwys
dal o ny wely banna· ef rebea
den a brys
gew a ve yn y ȝewle· gans an
eȝ ewon gorris
ha pen lym rag y wane· ȝe
golon Ihesus hynwys

217.
Along with them was a soldier
named Longis:
Blind was he, he saw not a drop;
he was a man of worth.
Into his hands a spear was put
by the Jews,
And a sharp point for him to
pierce to mild Jesus' heart.

218.
Longis sur an barth dyghow·
ȝe grous Ihesus y ȝese
ȝen marreg worth y hanow· y a
yrhys may whane
yn corf Ihesus caradow· en
gew lym ef a bechye
pur ewn yn dan an asow· dre
an golon may ȝese

218.
Longis, sure, was on the right
side of Jesus' cross,
To the soldier by his name they
bade that he should pierce.
Into the body of lovable Jesus,
the sharp spear he darted
Right under the ribs, so that it
was through the heart.

[39] *Legends of the Saints.* (*ac.* 1400 A. D.) Scottish Text Society I, 3. Cf. Horstmann, *Barbour's Legendensammlung.* Heilbronn 1881, I, 3.

219.

An golon y ȝeth stret bras·
dour ha goys yn kemeskis
ha ryp an gyw a resas· ȝe
ȝewle neb an gwyskis
y wholhas y ȝewlagas· gans y
eyll leyff o gosys
dre ras an goys y whelas·
Ihesus crist del o dy ȝgtis

219.

From the heart there came a
great spring, water and
blood mixed,
And ran down by the spear to
the hands of him that
struck him:
He bathed his eyes with his
one hand that was
bloodied—
Through the blood's grace he
saw how Jesus was
dighted.

220.

(fo. 19 a.)

Eddrek mur an kemeras· rag an
ober re wresse
ȝy ben dowlyn y coȝas. arluth
gevyans yn me ȝe
dall en ny welyn yn fas· ow
bos mar veyll ow pewe
Ihesus ȝo ȝo a avas· pan welas
y edrege

220.

Great sorrow seized him for the
work he had done.
On his knees he fell—"Lord,
forgiveness!" he said,
"Blind was I, I saw not well,
that I am living so vilely."
Jesus forgave him when he saw
his sorrows.[40]

The persistence of the popularity of Longinus in legend is shown by the fact that his story is included in the sixteenth century poem by Walter Kennedy on the *Passioun of Christ*.[41] As pointed out by Holthausen,[42] and as stated by Kennedy himself ("As Lendulphus and vtheris can record"), Ludolphus of Saxonia is Kennedy's principal source. In the use of the Legend of Longinus he follows Ludolphus.[43]

[40] *Pascon agan Arluth*, a Mid-Cornish poem, (Harl. MS 1782, fifteenth century) W. Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1860, App. 1, stanzas 217 ff.

[41] Printed by J. Schipper, *Denkschriften d. k. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1902, vol. 48, 25 ff.

[42] *Archiv*, 112, 298 ff.

[43] Cf. p. 24.

(CLIX)

Bot fra þai saw þat cristynnit Kingis face
All wan and paill, eik closit wes his sycht,
His bludy body stif in euery place,
Thai estemit þat ded had done his rycht.
Throw þe richt syd him woundit a blind knycht
With a scharp speir, quhill blude and watter cleir
Agane natour his ded hert woundit [sair]

(CLX)

The precius blud ran vnto Longeus hand,
And he his eyne anoyntit with it throu caiss;
Off [þe] tuiching of God sic grace he fond,
With e and hert þat he knew Cristis face;
He left his office, resignit in þat place,
Als levit lang in relyiosite.
Syne bischope maid and marter deit he.

§7. Hours of the Cross

It is to be expected that the story of Longinus would be found in the Hours of the Cross. It appears in the Vernon MS *Patris Sapiencia, sive Horae de Cruce,*[44] though it is not found in the Latin text referred to by Horstmann,[45] nor in the corresponding English poem in MS Bodl. Miscell. Lit. 104, fol. 50.[46] The Vernon version reads as follows:

Hora Nona dominus Cristus expirauit,
"Heli," clamans spiritum patri comendauit,
Latus eius lancea myles perforauit.
Terra tunc contremuit, & sol obscurauit.
Adoramus te, criste, & benedicimus tibi,
Quia per crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

44 *Minor Poems of Vernon MS*, EETS., pp. 40, 41.

45 Daniel. *Thes. Hymnolog.* I, 337, the corresponding stanza of which reads:

"Hora nona dominus Jesus expiravit,
Heli clamans animam patri commandavit,
Latus eius lancea miles perforavit,
Terra tunc contremuit et sol obscuravit."

46 Printed by Horstmann at foot of page, *EETS.*, 98, 37 ff.

At Non þer þurlede Ihesus herte: Longius, a Blynd kniht;
He wupte his Eiȝen wiþ his blod: þorwh þat he hedde his siht.
Þe eorþe quok, þe stones clouen: þe sonne les his liht,
Þe dede a-risen of heore graues: In tokene of godus miht
Þat us on Rode bouhte,
Þe soules þat weren in helle: Ihesus sone out brouhte.

An interesting relationship is to be noted between the Vernon poem on the the Hours of the Cross, and an "O and I" poem from a Cambridge MS, Gonville and Caius College, no. 175, of the fifteenth century.

Horâ nonâ divus Jesus expiravit

"At noon þyrlede hys syde,
Longeus, a blynde knyȝt
He wyped his eyen wiþ þe blood,
Þer wiþ he hadde hys syȝt.
Þe erþe quook, the stones schoke,
Þe sunne loste here lyȝt;
Dede men resen out off here graue,
Þat was Goddys myȝt,
Wiþ an O, and an I, þat on þe rode us bouȝte,
For men þat were in helle for synne Jesus out hem brouȝt."[47]

The Caius poem retains only one line of the Latin text, and begins the fifth long line (the poem is written in half lines) with the refrain "With an O, and an I." The Vernon MS is of course the earlier, and it may be possible that the writer of the Caius version followed the Vernon, merely inserting the refrain. There are some indications of Southern dialect in the later poem, besides one or two evident mistakes, such as: *Adam* to rhyme with *man,* where the Vernon has *Sathan;* and the substitution of *thre kynges* for *knihtes,* as the guards appointed by Pilate to guard the tomb of Jesus. On the other hand, the "O and I" poem agrees in metrical form with the

[47] W. Heuser, "With an O and an I," *Anglia,* XXVII, 313.

regular characteristics of this type as tentatively formulated by Heuser[48] in his study of a group of such poems: the stanza consists of six lines of six or seven stresses rhyming *aaaabb*, the refrain "With an O and I" forming the first half of the fifth line.

Just what the relationship between these two poems is, it is impossible to decide. It seems in every way more probable that the Caius should derive from the Vernon type. The Caius is more dramatic than the Vernon, and more lyric because of the addition of the refrain. If this is the true state of the case, however, it would suggest that the "O and I" poems originally started from a metrical form like that of the Vernon *Horae*, and that the type was produced by the simple insertion of the "O and I" refrain into a stanza already established.

An interesting parallel to the Caius poem is found in Ashmole MS 41,[49] written, according to Black, toward the end of the fourteenth century:

(fol. 134a) With an O *and* an i þan dyed our lord þat stound
A blynd knygth thorow hys syde smote *with* spere *and* mad a wound
þat spere blode of hys hert toke. þer wyth raun water lak
Sone *and* mone vpon to luke. þo waxed both blake
Stones brosten þe erth schoke. and dede folke ganne a wake
þat þis is soth in holy boke. Seynt jone to borow i take
With an o *and* an i. Seynt jone i ta[ ] to borw
Marie and Cristes passione. vs help [ ]k a sorow. Amen.

[48] *Ibid.*, 310.

[49] Prof. Carleton Brown has kindly allowed me to use his transcript of the Ashmole "O and I."

§8. Saint Edmund's "Speculum"

Horstmann refers to two metrical translations of Saint Edmund's *Speculum,* both found in the Vernon MS,[50] the first of these, *þe Spore of Love,* contains our story; but in the second, *How to live parfytly,* it is not found. In the *Spore* the story takes the form of a meditation on the hours; indeed, Horstmann suggests that here the English text is not following the *Speculum,* but the *Horae de Cruce* from the Vernon MS just quoted.[51] The *Spore* reads:

At noon: of þe passion, and of þe Assencion.

Be-þenk þe at þe vre of noon:
Whon Crist hed seid þat al was don,
Mildeliche wiþ-outen bost
To his ffader he ȝeld his gost,
And to him he made a cri
Hely lamaȝabatani,
þat is to seye aftur þe Book
"ffader, whiere þou me forsok?"
As hos seiþ, þus here for to spille;
A, lord, for hit was þi wille.
A blynd kniht þen atte laste
A Spere þorw [his] herte þraste,
þat Blod and water þen out ȝede.
þerof we schulde take good hede:
þe blynde kniȝt þerof cauȝte his siht,
And ure Bapteme þere hedde miȝt.[52]

Besides these metrical versions of the *Speculum,* Horstmann mentions three prose translations: that in the Thornton MS, which he says is the only Northern one

[50] *R. Rolle,* I, 219.
[51] See above, pp. 103, 104.
[52] *Minor Poems of Vernon MS,* EETS., pp. 292, 293.

known; that in the Vernon, which follows more closely, according to Horstmann, the Latin original; and one in a Cambridge MS, Ff 6, 40 (fol. 207), which contains only a partial translation.[53] As far as the Longinus story is concerned, the Thornton version does not depart from the Latin text, which here follows the Bible. The Thornton reads: "And þare was a knyghte redye with a spere and perchede þe syde of Ihesu, and smate hym to þe herte; and als-sone come rynnande downe þe precyouse blode and watire."[54] Horstmann thinks it highly probable that Richard Rolle himself was the translator of the *Speculum*.

§9. English Meditations derived from Bonaventura

The great popularity in England of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, long ascribed to Bonaventura, has already been noted.[55] Almost every Marian lament, whether incorporated in some longer treatise, or independent, shows trace of its influence. In the English translations the story of Longinus occurs in two forms, one slightly fuller than the other. The metrical version by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, found in MS Harl., 1701, contains the story in the shorter form. Though here the poet has made some additions, they do not affect the episode itself.

> þan longeus þe kny3ht dyspysed here pleynt,
> þat þo proude was, but now, be mercy, a seynt.
> A spere he sette to crystys syde,
> He launced and opun[de] a wounde ful wyde.
> þurgh hys herte he prened hym with mode,

53 *R. Rolle*, I, 219.
54 *Ibid.*, 237.
55 See above, p. 24.

And anone ran downe watyr and blode.
AA, wrong! aa, wo! aa, wykkednes!
To martyre here for here mekenes.
Þe sone was dede he felte no smerte,
But certes hyt perced þe modrys hert.[56]

There are also numerous English prose versions of the *Meditationes.* Bonaventura's text is closely followed in the English version by Nicholas Love, in whose *Mirrour of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ,*[57] the Longinus incident is exactly the same. Two anonymous English treatises also find direct source in the *Meditationes;* the first of these is contained under the title, *The Privity of the Passion,* in the Thornton MS;[58] the second, entitled *Meditacyon after noon of the opening of the syde of our lord jhesus,* occurs in Pepys MS, 2125, fol. 35[a]. In both

[56] *EETS.*, 60, 27.

[57] Ed. L. F. Powell, Oxford. Cf. the *Myrrour of the Blessed Life of Jhesu-Crist,* Hunterian MS, 77 (p. 85 Cat. for full description), which evidently corresponds exactly to N. Love's translation. Cf. also Bonaventura's Life of Christ, in English, Trin. Coll. Cambr. MS, B. 10, 12 (James, no. 223), a fifteenth century MS, with excellent miniatures. It begins, "When tyme was comen of forgifnes and mercies of oure lorde in whilke he had ordenede to safe mankynde;" and ends (after the account of the appearance to Thomas), "Whilke ioy and comforth he grawnt us þt wt his precious blode boght us." This appears to be unlike other versions that I have seen. No. 23 of the miniatures, is described in the cat.: "The side pierced, The Virgin swoons. Longinus points to his eye." Cf. also the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* translated by "N" and dedicated to Archbp. Arundel, Lambeth MS, 328, (fifteenth century); and the English translation of Bonaventura's *Vita Christi* found in Camb. Univ. MS, Hh. 1.11 (art. 1), "This," according to the catalogue description, "contains chaps. 1-5 and 57 to the end;" and *Speculum Devotorum*, or *A Myrour to Devot Peple*, in Cambr. Univ. MS. Gg. 1.6 (fifteenth century), which is apparently another English translation of the *Vita Christi.*

[58] *R. Rolle*, I, 208.

of these meditations Longinus is described as wicked, but as afterwards converted and suffering martyrdom.

The second and fuller form of the story which appears in the Bonaventura translations, adds to the original a reference to the blindness of the converted Longinus. Of this second type there are several somewhat varying texts. That found in MS Egerton 2658[59] (fifteenth century), fol. 9ᵃ, reads as follows:

His modur sniððe lest þei wold haue ydo so by hym stillich and wiñ a ful rewliche chere wepynge and all hoose; she wrynged hur hondes *and* spak to hem *and* sayde my dere breþren I beseche yow for þe hye goddys loue þat ȝe do no more to my dere sone. I am his moder ȝe weteþ wel dere breþren þat I offended you neuere ne neuer dide ȝou wrong. And þouȝ ȝe haue do my sone þis dishese spareþ hym now *and* I will forreue ȝow alle þe offence *and* þe deeþ of my chylde. So myche mercy *and* pite haueþ on me þat ȝe breke not his lymes. Doe ȝee seeþ þat he is deed and an houre it is siþnes he diȝede . . . þan was þer a knyȝt þat was blynd and hyȝt longius. he was an euyl proude man. And toke litel hede of oure lady talkynge *and* ȝit afterward he was a holy seynt and martir for Cristes [loue. cf. Stonyhurst MS. BXLIII, f.56ᵇ] blind as he was he pressed among þe jewes and wiþ a spere as þese cruel jewys sette him to to. he shoof hadde as þei bad hym. And opened oure lordes riȝt side a greet wounde. And a none þer gusshed out blode *and* watre. longius feled wete þyng come rennynge downe by þe spere to his hond. he gnodded his eyȝen þer wiþ and anone he hadde his siȝt and of þat miracle he becam a good man evere after.

Another version found in Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 5.42 (James 374), (fifteenth century), fol. 33ᵃ, without title in the manuscript, but described by James as a *Life of the Virgin and of Christ* in English, is clearly

[59] Cf. Hulme, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi, for description of the MS. I am indebted to Dr. Hulme for the use of his transcript of this MS, and also for that of the Stonyhurst MS B. XLIII, fol. 56b, which is another copy of the same text. Dr. Hulme also kindly called my attention to Pepys MS 2498, reference to which follows.

also following Bonaventura as far as this extract is concerned. I have not examined the whole manuscript.

Whan the Iewis come to Cryst bycause they founde hym dede they breke not his thyes. But a kny3t amonges hem that hete longius A proude man and A wykid at that tyme but aftur he was conuertid. he was an holy martur not takynge hede to þe wepyngus ne the prayours of that holy Companye. But dispytusly with a scharpe spere openyd the syde of oure blessid lord ihesus And made a gret wounde. And clefe his hert out of the whyche wounde ranne bothe blode and water. And as we rede this kny3t was att moste blynde and hit happinyd to him to touche his yen with the blode of Cryste and he my3te see aftur ward well ynow.

This second type is contained also in the Pepys MS, 2498 (Magdalene College, Cambridge) in "The Passion; caulid the complainte of our Lady." The story of Longinus is found at fol. 38[a]:

[The knights broke the bones of the thieves] *and* whan hy comen to hym he founden hym ded hy ne breken nou3th his hypes ac hy duden a kni3th þat hi3th longys smyte hym in to þe side un to þe hert and wiþ þe out drawing of þe sper comen out water *and* blode and þe dropes of blode runnen adoun to longys honde wiþ whiche he wyped his ei3en *and* als sone he sey and whan he sey þat wonder he fel doun on knees *and* repented hym in his hert *and* cried mercy. Þan wenten þe princes *and* all hom *and* leften kni3tes for to kepe þe body and i loked to my swete son *and* sei3e his heued þat helde up al þe werlde hengeande adoun.

§10. Marian Laments

Hardly to be distinguished from these Bonaventura Meditations, so far as the Longinus incident is concerned, are the epics or lyrics known definitely as Marian Laments. Indeed, Thien[60] in his study of the Middle English "Marienklagen" does not differentiate them. For

60 *Über die engl. Marienklagen*, Kiel, 1906.

his purpose it was of course suitable to consider not only monologues or dialogues in which Mary is the speaker, but to include passages founded on the *planctus* wherever they occur—in treatises or poems on the passion, in the drama and elsewhere. I shall take up here only the lament in its more restricted form. The type is of interest since it represents, as Professor Gerould remarks,[61] "the movement which from the twelfth century humanized religion at the same time that it popularized the elements of mysticism."

It is easy to see how the story of Longinus could become attached to the Marian lament. In her complaints Mary usually recites in detail the tortures of the crucifixion. In the well known *Filius regis mortuus est* (Lambeth MS, 853) there occurs this stanza, in which there is reference to the spear, but not to Longinus:

O ȝe creaturis vnkynde! þou iren, þou steel, þou scharp þorn!
How durst ȝe slee ȝoure best frend,
þe holiest child þat euere was born?
ȝe haue him woundid, ye haue him pyned;
Spere & nail his bodi haþ schorn!
þou spere! whi suffridist þou þe smyth þe grinde
So scharpe þat al his herte þou hast to-torn?
I may crie out on þee boþe euen. & morn,
A wemless maydens sone þou sleest!
I wringe & wepe as þing for-lorn!
Filius regis mortuus est.[62]

In some cases, however, the appearance of the spear has suggested to the writer the story of Longinus.

An interesting lyric complaint of the sixteenth century—preserved, so far as is known, only in Balliol MS, 354—contains mention of Longinus. It begins:

61 In his review of Thien's study, *Engl. Stud.* 37, 406.
62 *Pol. Relig. and Love Poems, EETS.*, 15, 209, 210.

Whan þat my swete sone was xxxti winter old
than þe traytor Judas wexed very bold.

The last stanza reads:

Thowgh I were sorrowful no man haue at yt wonder,
for howge was þe erth quake, horyble was ye thonder,
I loked on my swate son on þe Crosse þat I stode vnder,
than cam Lungeus, with a spere & clift his hart in sonder.

Each stanza is followed by the refrain:

O my harte is wo, Mary she sayd so,
For to se my dere son dye,
& sonnes haue I no mo![63]

Thien[64] comments on the line, "Though I were sorrowful no man haue at it wonder," as a popular phrase in the laments. He cites as sources: Bernard's *Tract.* (Lat. XI) 65 ff.: tristitia vexabar . . . nec mirum; Dreves, *Analecta Hymnica,* IV, 87: Nec mirum, si sis anxia.

The several texts of *The Lamentation between our Lady and Saint Bernard* vary considerably in the space given to Longinus. The story in MS Rawlinson (Poet. 175), and in MS Cambridge, Dd. 1, 1, is twice as long as that found in the Vernon text, and somewhat longer than that in the Cotton version. The variation in the case of the Cotton MS is caused by a different stanza arrangement and the omission of reference to Longinus in the shifted stanza. Horstmann considered the Cotton (which he dated about 1350) as the oldest MS of the poem. Fröhlich, on the other hand, takes

[63] *Songs and Carols,* from Balliol MS, 354, R. Dyboski, *EETS.,* 101, 40; printed by Flügel, *Anglia* 26, 262; also in *Early Eng. Lyrics,* Chambers and Sidgwick, pp. 142, 143.

[64] *Op. cit.,* 20.

the Rawlinson (the middle of the fourteenth century) to be the oldest MS.[65]

The Rawlinson text reads as follows:

1.577. I folowd fast with all my myght
With John & with my sisters two.
Omang þam þare þan stode a knyght,
Blynd he was & lame also,
And all þai said longius he hyght;
Vnder þe cross þai gert him go—
And sertes þan I saw a syght
þat was þe werst of all my wo

585. þai gaf þe knyght a spere full gude,
And sett it to my dere son syde,
þai bad him styng fast þare he stode
For any thing þat myght betyde.
He putt it vp with eger mode,
To my sun hert he gert it glyde:
And sone brast out both water & blode
Of þat wound þat was so wyde.

593. þan wex my hert heuy als lede,
When þat I saw þat rewfull syght:
þe watetr clere & þe blode rede
þat ran out of þe wound full ryght;[66]
þan fell I doune als I war dede,
Langer to stand had I no myght;
John me comforth in þat stede,
So did Joseph þat noble knyght.

601. þe blode ran doune vntill his hand,
And þare with wyped þe knight his eghe,
So gatt he syght als he gan stand
And luked brade withouten leghe,

[65] Ms Rawlinson, Poet. 175 version is printed by W. Fröhlich, *De lamentacione sancte Marie*, 1902, p. 63 ff. The Vernon text by Horstmann, *EETS.*, 98, p. 297 ff. The Vernon and Cambr. Dd. 1, 1, by Kribel, *Engl. Stud.*, VIII, 85 ff. The Tiber. E. VII, by Horstmann, *R. Rolle*, II, 274 ff. For full description of MSS and their relations cf. Fröhlich.

[66] Dd. 1.096 reads instead—To Longius hand it ran doun rihte.

He thanked god of all his sende—
Lyftand his hert to heuen on heghe.
Þat syght sone dele my bale vnbande,
And other mo þat stode me neghe.[67]

The Longinus episode apparently is an addition by the English author, since it does not occur in the sermon of St. Bernard, which is supposed to be his source: "Videbant Christi corpus sic male tractatum ab impiis, sic lacteratum a pessimis, jacere exanime suo sanguine cruentatum."[68] Who this author was, however, is not known. It has been ascribed to Richard Rolle of Hampole, but Horstmann,[69] Kribel,[70] and Fröhlich[71] all agree that it cannot be by Rolle. Horstmann first suggested as the probable author Richard Maidenstoon,[72] and later William Nassyngton.[73] Fröhlich[74] dismisses both these suggestions as unfounded.

[67] In Tiber E. VII, the stanza beginning l.593 follows that beginning l.601. Both these stanzas are omitted in the Vernon text. MS Laud Misc. 463, gives for ll., 602-4, a very pretty variation:

He wipid his eyen and wel he sey
ffelde and wode water and londe
ffoul in firmamente on hey.

A slight resemblance in the Vernon text to the Northern Passion is to be noted. L.579 reads: "Besyde þe Roode þer stod a knyt Blynd he was and lome also." The corresponding line in the Northern Passion (MS Ashm. 61) reads: "Besyde þe rude stude a knyght, þat longe hade forgone hys syght." See above, p. 99.

[68] Printed by Kribel, *op. cit.* p. 109, from Antwerp ed. 1616.

[69] *EETS.*, 98, 297.

[70] *Op. cit.*, 84.

[71] *Op. cit.*, 54.

[72] *EETS.*, 98, 297.

[73] *R. Rolle*, II, 274.

[74] *Op. cit.*, 54.

§11. Religious Lyrics

The religious lyrics in Middle English, as Chambers[75] has noted, exceed in number the love-lyrics. Several of these have already been included in other connections, as Marian laments, poems on the Hours, or meditations on the Passion. Their origins are usually shown by the remnants retained by them of the older forms from which they derive. For instance, they are often translations with slight expansion of Latin hymns. As in the case of the Vernon *Horae de Cruce,* they keep the Latin poem as heading, and add in English a free paraphrase, sometimes including details not found in the source, as, for example, the Longinus reference in the Vernon poem. Such a poem as this is still further popularized by the inclusion of a refrain, as illustrated by the "O and I" drawn from the *Horae.*[76] Again, a secular lyric serves as the direct model for the religious poet. He addresses the Virgin as the "may," "Mi leove swete lefdi," "Lavedi so fair and so hende." Jesus is the "lemman;" as already noted, in the half lyrical homilies, the *Wohung of ure lauerd,* and the *Talkyng of the Loue of God.* All the followers of Rolle show this intimacy of appeal, the desire of the love of Christ, as a source of earthly ecstacy and peace. In speaking of Rolle, Chambers says, "All his verse is of 'love-longing,' filled with that sense of personal contact between the soul and the divine object which appears to be at the heart of the mystical apprehension. . . . He conceives of love, not as softness, but as fire; to him, as to the trouvères, although in another

75 Cf. Chambers and Sidgwick, *op. cit.,* p. 287.

76 See above, p. 105.

sense, it is 'derne love.' "[77] Such feeling is the source of many of the mediæval religious lyrics. Sometimes these poems succeed admirably in keeping the charm of the secular lyric, then again they are travesties, showing merely a didactic attempt to ecclesiasticize the popular song in order to draw the attention from worldly to heavenly thoughts.

A highly secularized, or slightly ecclesiasticized, lyric which mentions the blindness of Longinus without giving the miracle, is this from a fifteenth century MS, edited by Wright. It is prefaced, "A song to the tune of, And I were a mayd, etc.":

> They hym nayled, and yl flayled,
> Alas, that innocent!
> Lunges, blind knyght, with al his myght,
> With a spere hys hart rent,
> Hey, now, now, now,
> Watur and blod fro hys hart yode,
> And yet that blyssed sone
> Prayd for thosse that ware hys fosse,
> To get for them pardone
> Hey, now, now, now.[78]

A curious and extreme example of this moralizing process applied to secular lyrics, is found in *The New Notbrowne Mayd upon the Passion of Cryste.* "The production," as Hazlitt notes, "consists of a dialogue between Christ and the Virgin Mary, in which the latter intercedes with our Saviour for mankind." The tag, "I am a banysshed man," which appears at the close of each of the sections in which Jesus speaks, gives here an absurd effect of caricature.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 289.
[78] *Songs and Carols*, Percy Society, XXIII, 72.

Longinus is mentioned in Maria's speech:

l.126 Swete sonne, syth ye,
To make hym fre,
Wold dye of your good mynde;
Your herte souerayne
Clouen in twayne,
By longes the blynde.
And all was done,
That man alone
Shulde not be left behynde;

Your goodnes euer
Dothe styll perseuer
Though he haue ben unkynde;
What is offendyd,
Shall be amended,
Ye shall persayue anon;
Ye shall be kynde
Yeldynge his mynde
And loue to you alone.[79]

Another example of a religious lyric in the dress of the secular—though in this case the poet is more successful—is found in the remarkable poem *The Quatrefoil of Love*, printed by Gollancz (from Brit. Mus. MS Addit. 31,042). Here the lyric takes the form of a vision and begins in the usual vision style. The marked alliteration is to be noticed:

In a moruenyng of Maye whenne medowes salle spryng:
Blomes and blossomes of brighte coloures:
Als I went by a welle: on my playing:
Thurghe a merry orcherde bedand myne hourres.

He sees a "Turtille" in a tree, which speaks and tells him of a "trew-lufe grysse," "with iiij lef es it sett fulle

[79] *Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 1, ff. Hazlitt says the poem appears to be a translation from the French.

louely aboute." The four leaves represent the Father, Son, Holy Ghost, and Mary.

Reference to Longinus is found in connection with the second leaf (stanza xviii):

> ȝitt spak þat noble kynge, was naylede on þat tre;
> Untille his modir dere was mournande þat tyde:
> 'Leue þi wepynge, womane, and morne noghte for me:
> Take John to þi sone þat standis bi þi side:
> Johne, take Mary þi moder now moder to þe:
> To kepe and to comforthe ȝoure blysse for to byde!
> Þe hate blode of his hert dide Longeus to-see:
> Þat rane by þe spere schafte fra his wondis wyde
> Þat daye
> It was grete dole for to se:
> When he was taken of þe tre:
> The seconde lefe of the three
> Was closede in claye.[80]

The Bannatyne MS contains several poems, which mention Longinus, different in type from those already examined:

> *We that are Bocht with Chrystis Blude*
>
> Betuix ws and thy fellone sede
> Ane wall ar Chrystis woundes fyve
> His body bathit in blud all rede,
> The scurgis that his flesch did ryfe
> The speir that Longeus did indryfe
> In latus eius per vigorem,
> Schaip the no moir with ws to stryve:
> Virgo peperit Saluatorem.[81]

The Latin tags in this and the next poem indicate their probable origin.

[80] *Furnivall Miscellany*, p. 121.

[81] Hunterian Club, I, 78. In this edition the first lines are used as titles.

My wofull Hairt me stoundis.

Fra XII to iiij upoun the croce I hang,
Plungit in panis and perplexite;
Longius a lance into my body thrang;
I wes tane doun, and woundit richelie,
My muderis splene pairfit calamide;
My blissit body, quhilk passit all riches,
Within a crag wes closit quietle:
Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas.[82]

O woundit Spreit and Saule in tell Exile

Punyss nocht thy peple, Lord God, in thy grevance;
Think quhy thy Sone Cryst sufferit sic passioun;
The croun of thorne, the croce, eik Longins lance
For manis syn makis intercessioun."[83]

Compacience perssis

My wofull hairt is boyth roiosit and sad,
Thy cross, Lord Jesus Chryst, quhen I behald
Off my redemptioun I am merry and glaid,
Seand thy panis sair wep I wald.
Cryand holy, the gaistly sperit thow yald;
To Longens hand the blud ran in a rest;
Thy pretius blud for our redemption thow sald,
Quhen thow inclinit with 'Consummatum est.'
Dirk wes the sone fra the sext hour to nyne,
Mountains trymblit. hillis, erd schuk ard claif;
Centurio said, Thow art Godis Sone devyne.[84]

§12. Fifteen Signs before the Day of Judgment

Not only in places where it would be expected, such as in descriptions of the passion, or the sorrow of the Virgin, is the story of Longinus found. It may be added to any poem that contains mention of the spear. In this

[82] *Ibid.*, 84.
[83] *Ibid.*, 88.
[84] *Ibid.*, 91.

way it was inserted in some versions of the *Fifteen Signs before the Day of Judgment*. Though there are a number of English poems[85] on this theme, the Longinus incident appears in only two—those in Cotton MS Caligula A II,[86] and Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 11, 24.[87] The reference to Longinus is more interesting in the Cotton text:

The XV. day hyeth bylyve.
For þer ys no mon on lyfe
Fro Adammus day, þe fyrst mon,
To þe dome he shall come þann;
And fro þe deth he shall aryse,
And of þe dome full sore agryse,
Every man yn XXXti wyntur of olde
Shall come þe dome to beholde;
And every mon shall oþur mete
At þe mownte of Olyvete.
Two angelles shall blawe wyth hornes,
For drede all shall come at ones;
Well sore þey may agryse,
That fro þe deth þen shall ryse.
Two angelles shall come Jesu beforn
Wyth schorge and spere and crowne of þorn,
Wyth drery chere and sorrowful mode,
And so hyt herte and hys blode,
The spere as blody and as sharpe,
As he was stongenn wyth to þe herte.
For nonn envye ne for no pryde
Longeus stonge hym þorow þe syde.
But he nam þe blode so rede,
As þe prophesye hym bede,
He strokke hyt to hys yesy3th,
Hyt wax as clere as candellyght.
He sayde: "Lorde full of pyte,

85 Cf. Nölle, *Beiträge*. VI, 474; also H. E. Sandison, *Archiv f. das Stud. d. neueren Sprach. u. Lit.* CXXIV, 80, 81; and Varnhagen, *Anglia* III, 534 ff.

86 Printed by Varnhagen, *Anglia* III, 549.

87 Ed. Furnivall, *Hymns to Virgin and Christ*, *EETS.*, 24, 123.

Thys mysdede þou for3eue me.
I ne dede hyt for no wykkedhede,
But as þese cursede jewes me bede."
Two angelles shall brynge þe rode bry3t,
Þe blody naylus, so presyous of syght,
And say: "Lorde, we beseche þe,
Of all us to have pyte."

Then Jesus calls to mind his suffering on the cross; Mary intercedes; the evil are condemned to sorrow, and the good are rewarded. Jesus proceeds at once to speak of the pain caused him by the scourges, the spear, the nails, etc. Here, it will be observed, the story of Longinus has been dragged in at the mention of the symbols of the suffering of Jesus. It interrupts the narrative and is out of keeping with what precedes and follows, as Longinus is represented as the unwilling instrument. Noteworthy are the lines:

But he nam þe blode so rede
As þe prophesye hym bede.

No other version of the story with which I am familiar refers to a prophecy in this connection.[88]

§13. Piers Plowman

No mediæval writer, great or small, could avoid Longinus. The author of *Piers Plowman,* describing the passion of Christ in the framework of a vision, pauses

[88] Varnhagen, *op. cit.* p. 533, comments on the close relationship of the Cotton MS version to that found in Digby 86. He says, indeed: "Welchem derselben die priorität gebührt, lasse ich dahingestellt sein." The Digby MS does not contain the Longinus story. The Cotton MS is very closely paralleled by the Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 11, 24 (James, 263), also of the fifteenth century. The latter omits the suggestion of prophecy and is somewhat briefer.

long enough to tell the story of Longinus. Here the spearman is seen as a gallant and knightly figure, and his deed is spoken of in terms of knightly encounter. The scene is made highly dramatic, and, notwithstanding the secularization, pathetic.

Ac þere cam forth a kny3te · with a kene spere ygrounde,
Hi3te *longeus*, as þe *lettre* telleth, and longe had lore his si3te.
Bifor pilat & other peple · in þe place he houed;
Maugre his many tethe · he was made þat tyme
To take þe spere in his honde · & iusten with ih*es*us;
For alle þei were vnhardy · þat houed on hors or stode,
To touche hym or to taste hym · or take hym down of Rode.
But þis blynde bacheler þanne . bar hym þorugh þe herte;
Þe blode spronge down by þe spere · & vnspered þe kni3tes eyen.
Þanne fel þe kny3te vpon knees · and cryed hym *mercy*—
"A3eyne my wille it was, lorde · to wownde 3ow so sore!"
He seighed & sayde · "sore it me athynketh;
For þe dede þat I haue done · I do me in 3owre *grace*;
Haue on me reuth, ri3tful ih*esu*!" · & ri3t with þat he wept.
Thanne gan faith felly · þe fals iuwes dispise,
Called hem caytyues · acursed for euere,
For þis foule vyleynye · "veniaunce to 3ow alle,
To do þe blynde bete hym ybounde . it was a boyes conseille.
Cursed caytyue! · kni3thod was it neuere
To mysdo a ded body · by day or by ny3te.
Þe gree 3it hath he geten · for al his grete wounde.
For 3owre champioun chiualer · chief kniy3t of 3ow alle,
3elt hym recreaunt rennyng · ri3t at ihesus wille.[89]

Longinus, it is interesting to note, is here introduced as the "champion" of the Jews (cf. especially ll. 99-100),

[89] *Vision of Piers Plowman*. Ed. Skeat, B-text XVIII, 78-100; C-text XXI, 81-105. Cf. Kröner, p. 32.

so that he stands forth as the protagonist of the anti-Christians. Acting in this representative capacity, he becomes almost an allegorical figure, and his conversion in consequence something more than a private incident.[90]

§14. Chaucer

Chaucer also has made use of the legend. In his *A B C* poem, a free translation of the prayer to the Virgin in Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Le Pelerinage de la Vie humaine*, there is found a passing reference to Longinus though no mention of him occurs in the corresponding stanza of the French text:

> Xristus, thy sone, that in this world alighte,
> Upon the cros to suffre his passioun,
> And eek, that Longius his herte pighte,
> And made his herte blood to renne adoun;
> And al was this for my salvacioun;
> And I to him am fals and eek unkinde;
> And yit he wol not my dampnacioun—
> This thanke I you, secour of al mankinde.[91]

§15. Lydgate

Lydgate more than once shows his familiarity with the legend of Longinus. The first passage in which he tells the story occurs in the *Nightingale*—a poem which em-

[90] The representation of Christ as a knight engaged in knightly encounter with his enemy is not uncommon in the Middle Ages. Cf. P. Meyer, Introduction to *Les Contes Moralisés de N. Bozon*. Soc. des anciens textes fr., pp. xli-xlii. The allegorical poem on the Crucifixion by Bozon, referred to, has been printed by A. Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil*. II, 309 ff.; and by T. Wright, *Pierre Langtoft's Chronicle*. Rolls Ser., II, App. II, 426 ff. In this poem Christ encounters Belial, who gives him the five wounds.

[91] *The Minor Poems*. Ed. Skeat, 1894, p. 270. The French original of the poem is printed at the bottom of the page.

ploys the vision setting, but which in its arrangement follows the Hours of the Cross. The mention of Longinus comes as usual at the hour of "none":

1.379. Thus heng oure lord nayled to the tre,
Fro the oure of sixt unto the oure of none,—
Ande also longe was in prosperite
Oure fader Adam, tyll tyme that he had done
That high forfet for which he banyshid sone
Was in-to yerth, to lyue in langour there
Ande all his o[f] sprynge,—till Longens with a spere

The oure of none, as Iewes hym desyred,
Thirled and persed thorgh his hert & side.
He, seyng then: "Consummatum est," expired
And heed enclyned, the gost yaf vp that tyde
Vnto the fader. The sunne, compelled to hyde
His bemys bright, no longer myght endure
To see the deth of the auctor of nature.

Thus hath this brid, thus hath this nyghtingale,
Thus hath this blessed lord that all hath wroght,
. . . . . .
Upon a crosse our soules dere y-bought."[92]

In Lydgate's *Testament,* under the sub-title *Lyk a Lambe offryd in sacrifice,* these stanzas occur:

Behold the speere moost sharply grounde and whet,
Myn herte woundid upon the rihte syde,
Behold the reed speer, galle and eysel fett,
Behold the scornyngis which that I did abyde,
And my five woundys that were maad so wyde
Which no man lyst of routh to advertise,
And thus I was of meeknesse ageyn pryde,
To mannys offence offrid in sacrifise!
. . . . . .
See how that I was jugid to the deth,
See Baraban goon at his liberté,

[92] *EETS.*, e. s. 80, 14. Cf. MacCracken, *The Lydgate Canon*, p. xix, for notice of MSS.

See with a speere how Longius me sleth,
Behold too licoures distyllyng doun fro me,
See blood and watir, by merciful plenté,
Rayle by my sides which auhte I nouhe suffise
To man whan I upon the roode tre,
Was lik a lamb offrid in sacrifise.[93]

A reference to Longinus appears also in the first section of the same poem:

By blood Jhesus made our redempcioun,
With watir of baptym fro felthe wessh us cleene,
And from his herte too licours there ran doun,
On Calvary the trouthe was wel seene,
Whan Longius with a spere keene
Percyd his hertet upon the roode [tre];
O man unkynde! thynk what this doth meene,
And on to Ihesu bowe adoun, thy kne.[94]

Lydgate emphasizes here the doctrinal points connected with the sacrifice of the Crucifixion—the atoning, expiatory 'blood of redemption' and the miraculously shed 'water of baptism.'

That Lydgate should introduce mention of Longinus also into his *Testament* is not surprising. Indeed, when one considers how usual it was to attach the legend to any reference to the spear, it becomes matter for remark that Longinus is not more often found in "Testament" poems. Thien includes this type also among his 'Marienklagen,' to which it is closely related. Frequently the lance is made prominent, as in the Vernon version of the *Testamentum Christi*, where Christ is the parchment; the scourge is the pen; the wounds are the letters; the spear and nails, the seals.

[93] *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate*. Percy Society, II, 262.
[94] *Ibid.*, II, 234.

l.135 þe seles þat hit was seled wiþ
þei were grauen vp-on a stiþ
Of gold nor seluer weore þei nouȝt,
Of stel and Iren were þei wrouȝt:
With þe spere of stel myn herte þei stongen.[95]

§16. A Lollard Creed

Pollard prints in "The Examination of Master Wm. Thorpe, priest, of heresy, before Thomas Arundell, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1407," *A precise and authentic Lollard Creed.* The Archbishop charges William with having infected and poisoned the land with his "untrue teaching and shrewd will," to which William responds: "Sir, since ye deem me an heretic out of belief, will ye give me here audience to tell my *Belief?*" His creed contains interesting mention of Longinus:

> And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death as to the world, there was left blood and water in his heart, as he before ordained that he would shed out this blood and this water for man's salvation. And therefore he suffered the Jews to make a blind knight to thrust him into the heart with a spear; and this blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for man's love."[96]

[95] *EETS.*, 117, 647. Though I have found Longinus mentioned only in this *Testament of Lydgate*, his name is included among the signatures of the witnesses in two versions of *Testamentum Christi*, MS Harl. 6848, fol. 239, and Add. Char. 5960. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Miss M. C. Spalding, who expects to publish soon a critical edition of the Middle English versions of the *Testamentum Christi.*

[96] *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, A. W. Pollard, 107, 108, 110.

§17. Romances Exclusive of the Grail

In the English romances unconnected with the Grail, Longinus and his lance are of no great importance. Generally speaking, only those of French origin include any reference to the story. As in the French romances—though in English the illustrations are comparatively few,—Longinus's name is found in the long prayers made by the heroes before entering combat. Kröner draws most of his examples of the French use of the legend from such prayers, which occur abundantly.[97] Sometimes, as in the following lines in *Robert the Devyll*, Longinus is brought in quite incidentally in the course of a reference to the redeeming blood of Christ:

> And forthe he rode to the church door
> And discended from his horse right there
> So he kneled downe in the floore
> And to oure lorde god he made hys prayer

[97] Since Kröner's dissertation was published, E. Langlois has compiled a *Table des Noms Propres Compris dans les Chansons de Geste*, 1904. His list of the appearances of Longinus includes, in addition to those mentioned by Kröner, the following: *Rolant* (W. Foerster, *Alt. franz. Bib.* VI) 200, 352; *Rolant* (Bib. VII) 290, 291; *Berte* (A. Scheler, 1874) 1431; *Gaidon* (*Anc. poetes de la France*) 42, 43, 66, 131, 170, 255; *Anseis de Cartege* (*Bib. de litt. Vereins* CXCIV) 260, var; *Gui de Bourgogne* (*Anc. Poetes*) 29, 30, 42, 52, 58, 106; *Aliscans* (*Anc. Poetes*) 214; *Enfances Vivien* (A. Nordfelt) 1895; *Girart de Vienne* (*Poetes de Champ.* XVI, 16) 103; *Aimeri de Narbonne* (*Anc. Textes*); *Mort Aimeri* 2001; *Beuve de Commanchis* (Scheler) 520; *Parise la Duchesse* (F. Guissard et L. Larchy) 2; *Renart de Montauban* (*Bib. des litt. Vereins Stutt.* LXVII) 176, 189, 214, 226, 349; *Maugis* (M. F. Castels. *Rev. des langues rom.* XXXVI, p. 5-259) 6619; *Mort Garin* (du Méril) 218; *Chanson d'Antioch* (P. Paris) I, 132, II, 22, 88, iii; *Conq. de Jerusalem* (Hippeau) 866, 7031; *Baudoin de Sibourc* I, 316, II, 154, 171, 304, 321, 322, 365, 374, 447; *Bastard de Buillon*, 33, 859, 2499, 3242, 4086, 6150.

Saying, swete Jesu that bought me dere
Haue mercy on me for that precyous bloude.
That ran from your hearte with *longis speare*
Which stonge youe in the side hangynge on the roode.[98]

A second type of prayer, common in the romances, is found in the long petition of Olyuer before his fight with Fierabras, in which he recounts the life of Christ. This is taken from Caxton's *Charles the Grete:*

"O gloryous god, cause and beginning of al that is aboue and vnder the fyrmamente, which for your owne playser fourmed our fyrst fader Adam and for hys companye gauest vnto hym Eue, by whome al humayn generacyon is conceyued gyuyng to them lycence to ete al maner fruytes reserued onely one, of whyche Eue by the moeuyng of the serpent, caused Adam to ete . . . . And whan ye were in age by you determyned ye went in the world prechyng to your frendes. Thenne afterward by thenuyous lewes ye were hanged on the crosse, in whiche so hangyng longyus the knyght by the Induction of the lewes percyd your syde; and whan he byleued in you and wesshe hys eyen with your precious blode he recouered his syȝt fayre and clere and cryed you mercy whereby he was saued. . . . Thus my god, my maker, as thys is trouthe and I byleue it verayly and fermly, be ye in my comforte ageynst thys myscreaunte that I may vaynquysshe hym in suche wyse that he may be saued."[99]

Similar in type to the preceding is another prayer in the same romance, offered in this case by Charles for the success of Oliver. The mention of Longinus is as follows: "And after Longyus smote you in the ryght syde to the hert, which was blynde and after that he had leyed on hys eyen of your precuous blood he sawe moche clerely."[100]

In another type of prayer, common in the old French romances, Longinus is mentioned, along with the Magda-

[98] *Roberte the Devyll.* London, 1798, p. 28. Reprinted by Hazlitt, *Remains of Early Pop. Poetry,* I, 244.

[99] *The Lyf of the Noble and Crysten Prynce Charles the Grete, EETS.*, e. s. 37, 65, 66.

[100] *Ibid.*, 71.

lene, Judas, and others, as an example of a great sinner who repented and was forgiven. Of this kind is the following from *Garin de Loherain*, though in this case Longinus figures alone: "Sire, dit-il je vous ai souvent offensé, et j'en grand regret. Mais vous avez pardonné à Longis le coup de lance qui vous donna la mort; preservez-moi aujourdhui!"[101] So far as I am aware, this type of prayer is not illustrated in the English romances.

Besides this use of Longinus in prayers, the romances sometimes mention him in connection with the relics of the crucifixion, which, in the crusading romances, play an important part. In *Sir Ferumbras*,[102] the winning from the Saracens of the relics of the crucifixion is one of the motives of the romance. Floripas gives the 'relyques preciouse and fyn' to the French knights:

l.2122 'Be-holdeþ, lordes,' sayde sche þan: and buþ now murie and glad;
þis ys þat tresour whar-for ȝe han: trauayl and tene i-had;
Which þat my fader let bere away: of Rome as ȝe knowe.'

Again the relics are brought out in time of trouble and the knights kneel to them and pray for help:

l.5049 Wan þe barouns had y-seȝen hem alle, On hure knes þay duden falle, and cryde god mercy.
Þat burde bryȝt þanne tok hem out, and knelyng þay kussede alle about þe relyques with gret honour;
And prayede god þorw vertue of hem Scholde sauye hem ther fro heþ[en] men.

The Saracens scale the walls, but when the relics are 'schewede hem on hur face,' they fall back and from such a great height 'that hure bodies al to-burste.'

101 Ed. P. Paris, 1862, 339. Cf. for other French examples, Kröner, *op. cit.*, 34 ff.

102 *EETS.*, e. s., 34.

In *Sir Ferumbras* the lance is not mentioned among the relics, as at the time celebrated in the romance, the lance had already been removed from Jerusalem.[103] In *Roland and Vernagu,* a related romance, it is included. Constantine showed Charlemagne the relics, the odor of which cured three hundred sick people. There were the holy crown, the arm of St. Simeon, a piece of the cross, our Lady's smock, the rod of Aaron, and one of the nails.

> And a spere long and smert,
> þat longys put to godes hert,
> He gaf charls þe king;

Charles then prayed for a proof of the genuineness of the relics, and the place was filled with a heavenly light.[104]

A third point of contact between the legend of Longinus and the romances lies in the invention of the sacred lance at Antioch by the crusaders. Here again English literature illustrates less well than French. In the French romances the episode is treated with more spirit. The invention, however, is found in English in *Godefroy of Boloyne.* After speaking of the knights dying of hunger, the writer adds:

> It were a long thyng for to recounte all their meseases; but our lord that in alle his werkes may not forgete mercy sente to them grete comfort. ffor a clerk born in prouynce named peter, cam on a day to the bysshop of puy and to therle of tholouse, and sayd to them in moche grete drede, that the holy apostel seynt andrew had appiered to hym thryes in the nyght slepyng, and warned hym that he shold goo to the barons and saye to them that the speer with which our lord was percid in the syde on the crosse was hyd in the chirch of saint peter in the cyte, the place where it was he had certainly shewd to hym. he said wel that he was not come for to saye ne signefye them, but that

103 Cf. above, chapter on the history of the lance, p. 58.

104 *Roland and Vernagu, EETS.,* e. s. 39, p. 40.

seynt andreu had menaced hym at the last tyme yf he dede not his message he shold meshappen in his body. . . . . Thenne began to delue and dygg depe in the place that the clerke had shewed to them. They fonde the spere lyke as he had sayd to them. Thenne had they a loye emonge them so grete, lyke as euery man had had as moche as he myght.[105]

§18. The Drama

In the English mediæval religious drama the legend of Longinus shows less interesting development than in contemporary drama in Germany and in France. On the continent the religious drama took its rise earlier and attained in general greater development, the cycles reaching great dimensions. It is not strange, therefore, that such an apocryphal incident as the curing of the blind Longinus should receive more attention in the French and German crucifixion plays, than in the English. Though the story occurs in the four great cycles, Chester, York, Towneley, and Hegge, and also in the Cornish *Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ,* there is only the slightest characterization of Longinus himself and no enlargement of the episode. Throughout, Longinus is dealt with quite seriously. The accounts for the most part are not given much more dramatic heightening and color than is found in the corresponding narrative treatments of the subject, such as those which appear in the *Cursor Mundi* and in the *Northern Passion.*

The text devoted to Longinus in the English plays is never very long. The Chester *Crucifixion* (Play XVII), is one of the more extensive of the plays. The centurion expresses belief in Jesus. Cayphas answers him:

[105] *EETS.*, e. s. 64, pp. 200, 201.

But when thou seiste his harte bleede,
Lett us see what thou can saye.
Longes, take the speare in hande,
And put from thee, thou ney wounde

LONGEUS:

O Lorde, I see ney sea nor lande
This seven yeaire in good faye.

QUARTUS JUDEUS:

Have this speare, and take good heede
Thou muste doe as the bushoppe thee bede,
A thinge that is of full greate nede,
To warne I houlde you woode.

LONGYUS:

I will doe as ye byde me,
But on your perrill it shalbe.
What I doe I maye not se,
Wheither it be evill or good.

Tunc Longius lancea perforat latus Christi, dicens
Highe kinge of heaven, I thee praye,
What I have done well wotte I nere,
But on my handes and on my speare
Out watter ronneth through;
And on my eyes some can fall,
That I maye see bouth on and all.
O Lorde! wherever be this wall,
That this watter come froo?
Alas! Alas! And wayleawaie!
What deed have I done to daie?
A man I see, south to saye,
I have slayne in the streete.
But this I hope be Christe vereye,
That sicke and blynde hase healed aye.
Of mercye, Lorde, I thee praie,
For I wiste not what I did.
Jesus, moche have I harde of thee,
That sicke and blynde through thy pittie
Hase healed before in this cittie,
As thou hasse me to daie;

Thee will I serve and with thee be,
For well I leeve, in daies three,
Thou will rise in thye postie,
From enemyes, Lorde, I thee praie."[106]

Resemblances to the vernacular literature, such as have been pointed out, especially in the York Plays, by Miss Smith[107] and Craigie,[108] are here to be noted. Neither of these writers supplies a parallel for this particular passage in the plays. On the other hand, compare the directions given Longinus in the above passage with these lines from the *Northern Passion:*

They made hym under Jesus stond
And pute a spere in his hond
They leyd þe spere to Jhesus side
Pute up þei seyd what so betyde
Longeus pute þe spere hym fro
To Jhesu herte it gane go.

And again the italicized lines above with these from the *Passion:*

On hys kneys he gane doune falle
And of Jhesu mercy calle
He sey "I wyst not what I dede
Bot as oþer hade me bede."[109]

The italicized lines in the Chester play also show similarities to the text of the *Cursor Mundi.* Note particularly the readings of the Trinity MS—

l. 16839. Aȝein his wille he hit dude
therefore he made mone.—

[106] *Chester Plays,* Thomas Wright, 1843, II, 66.
[107] *York Plays.* Introd. pp. xliv, xlv.
[108] *Furnivall Misc.,* 52 ff.
[109] For the whole passage, see above, p. 99.

and the Cotton interpolation:

> l. 33. Mercy, he cried oure lorde,
> And gart cristen him I-wis.

It looks as if the story had assumed stereotyped form and was used in much the same way by narrative and dramatic writers.

In the York play, *Mortificacio Cristi* (Play XXXVI), the episode is more briefly dealt with than in the Chester. Here Pilate gives the direction to Longinus. The soldier himself is less rude, indeed he expresses his gratitude, amazement, and love with lyric ardor. The centurion is not included, nor is there any statement as to whether Longinus knew what he was doing.

> PILATE: Ser Longeus, steppe forthe in þis steede
> þis spere, too, have hold in thy hande
> To Jesu þou rake fourthe I rede,
> And sted nouȝt but stiffely þou stande
> Astounde
> In Jesu side
> Schoffe it þis tide,
> No lenger bide,
> But grathely þou go to þe grounde.
>
> (*Longeus pierces Jesus' side*)
>
> LONGEUS: O! maker vnmade, full of myght,
> O! Jesu so jentile and jente,
> þat sodenly has lente me my sight,
> Lorde! louyng to þe be it lente.
> On rode arte þou ragged and rente,
> Mankynde for to mende of his mys,
> Fall spitously spilte is and spente,
> The bloode lorde to bringe vs to blis
> full free
> A! Mercy my socoure,
> Mercy my treasure
> Mercy my sauioure,
> þi mercy be markid in me.[110]

[110] *York Plays* (fifteenth century) L. T. Smith, 1885, p. 368.

The Towneley *Crucifixion* (Play XXIII) treats the episode very briefly—two executioners appear, and one of these is willing to pierce Jesus in order to see if he be dead. The other opposes him and calls on Longinus. Though Longinus asks not to be made to do anything ignorantly, he offers no real objection. When his sight is restored, he says he sinned innocently at the command of others.

primus tortor
let one pryk hym with a spere
And if that it do hym no dere
Then is his lyfe nere past.
ijus tortor.
This blynde knyght may best do that.
longeus.
Gar me not do bot I wote what.
iijus tortor
Not bot put up fast.
longeus.
A, lord, what may this be?
Ere was I blynde, now may I see;
Godys son, here me, ihesu!
ffor this trespas on me thou rew.
ffor, lord, othere men me gart,
that I the stroke vnto the hart:
I se thou hyngys here on hy,
And dyse to fulfyll the prophecy.[111]

Hohlfeld has called attention to parallel passages in this play and York XXXVI,[112] but these do not include the Longinus episode. So far as the treatment of this incident is concerned, there is no significant resemblance. That the metrical form in the Towneley Plays shows great variation has been noted by Pollard, Davidson,

[111] *The Towneley Plays*, (fifteenth century), A. W. Pollard, *EETS.*, e. s. LXXI, 276.
[112] *Op. cit.*, pp. 298, 299.

Hohlfeld, Cady and others. In this particular play the variations apparently mark change in mood, and effort is made to suit the metrical form to the speaker. The lament of Mary, for instance, is written in long lines, usually of seven stresses and rhyming in couplets. The torturers use a different stanza, four stresses rhyming *aabccb*. Longinus's speech is also different, the lines containing three or four stresses and rhyming in couplets.

The treatment of the Longinus story in the Hegge *Burial of Christ* (Play XXXIV) is more dramatic than in the cycles already considered. Longinus is again the innocent tool in the hands of the Jews. The centurion, though brought into no connection with the soldier, has here a great deal to say, all to the effect that the wonderful tokens indicate that Jesus is the true son of God. Two knights go with Joseph of Arimathea to Pilate. One thinks Jesus dead; the other wishes to be sure:

> ȝonder is a blynd knyth I xal go to,
> And sone awhyle here xal be wrowth.

Here the knyth goth to blynde Longeys, and seyth,

> Heyl, sere Longeys, thou gentyl knyth!
> The I prey now ryth hertyly;
> That thou wylt wend with me ful wyth,
> It xal be for thi prow veryly.

Longeus.

> Sere, at ȝour comawndement with ȝou wyl I wende
> In what place ȝe wyl me have;
> For I trost ȝe be my frend;
> Lede me forth, Sere, oure sabath ȝou save!

Primus Miles.

> Lo! sere Longys, here is a spere!
> Bothe long, and broad, and sharp anow;
> Heve it up fast that it wore there,
> ffor here is game:—show, man, show.

Here Longys showyth the spere warly, and the blood comyth rennyng to his hand, and he avantoresly xal wype his eyen.

Longeus. O good Lord! how may this be,
That I may se so bryth now?
This thretty wyntyr I myth not se
And now I may se I wote nevyr how!
But ho is this that hangyth here now?
I trowe it be the mayndonys sone;
And that he is now I knowe wel how,
The Jewys to hym this velany han don-

Here he ffallyth downe on his knes.

Now, good Lord, fforgyf me that,
That I to the now don have;
For I dede I wyst not what,—
The Jewys of myn ignoranse dede me rave.
Mercy! Mercy! Mercy! I crye.[113]

The resemblance already noted in the case of the Chester plays to the *Cursor* and the *Northern Passion* are perhaps even more evident here.[114]

The Cornish Passion, though briefer, is not unlike the Hegge Passion in the treatment of the character of Longinus. As in the Hegge play, he goes willingly when bidden by the knights, who address him courteously.

III[a] Tortor	
longys reys yv thy's gyne	Longius, need is to thee with us
vn pols byan lafurye	A little while to labour,
dre worhemmyn a'n instis	By order of the Magistrate.
(et ducit longeum ad cruces et dat lanceam in manum ejus)	
Longeus	
me a geneugh yn lowen	I go with you gladly,
mar callen guthyl hehen	If I can make any effort
a socor nag a seruys	Of help or of service.
IV[a] Tortor	
nebes seruys ty a wra	A little service thou shalt do
tan syns y'th dorn an giu-na	Take, hold in thy hand that spear
ha herthy'e gans nerth yn ban	And thrust it with force upwards.

[113] *Ludus Coventriae*. J. O. Halliwell, 1841 (MS Cott. Vespas. D. VIII, 1468) Play XXXIV, 334, 335.

[114] See above, pp. 133, 134.

Longeus	
me a'n herth guel ha gyllyf	I will thrust it the best I can
na vlamyough vy kyn fyllyf	Do not blame me, though I fail
rak dal of ny welaf man	For I am blind, I see not at all.
[hic perforat cor Ihu]	

Is Tortor	
benet sewys syre longys	A blessing follow thee, sir
synt iouqn whek re'th caro	Longius
henna yv pyth a thyuys	Sweet Saint Jove love thee:
gallas lemmyn lour ganso	That is what I choose;
	Thou art now very able with it.
[tune fluat sanguis super	
lansea usque ad manus longii	
Militis et tune terget oculos	
et in debit et dicit]	

Longeus	
Arluth thy'm gaf. del y'th pysaf	Lord, forgive me, as I pray thee
war pen dewlyn	On my knees;
an pyth a wren my ny wothyen	What I did, I knew not,
rag ny wylyn	For I did not see
hag a quellen. my ny'n grussen	And if I had seen, I would not
kyn fen lethys	have done it,
rak del won sur map dev os pur	Though I had been killed;
yn beys gynys	For, as I know surely, Very
a vaghtyth glan. vn vap certan	Son of God thou art,
os the 'n das du	In the world born,
ow ham wyth bras. gaf thy'm	Of a virgin pure; a son cer-
a tas the vertu.[114]	tainly
	Thou art to the Father God.
	My great bad deed. forgive me
	O Father
	By thy virtue.[115]

In the English plays, it is seen, the legend does not receive much dramatic development. Longinus is sometimes aware of the deed he is about to perform when he

[115] *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, (fifteenth century), ed. and translated by Ed. Norris, vol. I, 460, f.

pierces the side of Christ, and sometimes unaware because of his blindness. He is always overcome with repentance. In French and German plays, the legend is treated more freely. The twelfth century *Résurrection du Sauveur*[116] shows Longinus haggling over the money he is to receive as recompense for the deed, and there is, just after the marvellous cure of Longinus, a spirited bit of dialogue between Pilate and a soldier who tells of the miracle. Longinus is shown as cruel, delighting in his office, in the St. Gall Passion.[117] "So wil ich in dorchstechen," he says when given the spear, "das ime sin herze muz brechen, sin zauber wil ich so rechen." In the *Donaueschinger Passion*[118] he is even more venomous,—

> "Ich wil mich rachen ouch an dir
> du woltes uff erd nie helfen mir
> un hest mich lauffen blind beliben."

Longinus is depicted as wicked also in *La Passion de Notre Seigneur*,[119] and in Grêban's *Mistère de la Passion*.[120] The reverse of this characterization as cruel is found in the Alsfelder *Passion*,[121] where Longinus is represented as merciful:

> "Ach lieber knecht, ganck mydde!
> der mentsche lydet pyn und martet viel,
> die ich nu gern enden wylle."

[116] *Théâtre Français au Moyen Age*, Monmerqué et Michel, p. 12.
[117] Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe 1846, I, 121.
[118] Fifteenth century, Mone, *op. cit.*, II, 326.
[119] Jubinal, *Mystères inédits du Quinzième Siècle*, p. 254.
[120] Fifteenth century, G. Paris, Paris 1878, 346.
[121] Fifteenth century, Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, III, 796.

The centurion takes part with Longinus in the Donaueschinger play. When the blood falls on Longinus's hand, the centurion speaks to him:

Loyne, folg mir an allen bass,
die hend sind dir von blote naff,
Strich das hie an dine ougen,
Gelt du werdest geschen und glouben
das dieser mensch gewarer Christ
Und umb unschuld gestorben ist.

In Gréban's *Passion* also the centurion is brought into connection with Longinus. When the blood runs down the spear, the centurion, astonished at seeing the blood mingled with water, declares that this portends some mystery. He then testifies that Jesus is the true son of God. Longinus's speech follows at once:

O Jhesus, je te cry mercy
De tant que je t'ay offensé
Ne jamès n'avoye pensé
Que tu feusses si haulte chose,
Comme Centurion propose.
Tu es doulx et plain de clemence
Et en icelle confidence
Le pur sang qui de toy degoute,
La chere et precieuse goute
Prendray et mettray sur mes yeux,
Esperant qu'il m'en soit de mieulz
Et que ma veue se ravoye.[122]

The action is much longer in these plays. Extended conversation occurs in connection with the leading of Longinus to the cross, and after arrival there the soldiers discuss at length the probability as to whether or not Jesus is yet dead. The soldiers, and, in some cases, Longinus's knights, are given names. In the Alsfelder, as

[122] *Le Mystére de la Passion*, Paris, 1878, p. 348.

he leads Longinus to the cross, the servant sings. Greater however than the difference in length of treatment, and in the specific attributes given Longinus by way of individualizing him, is the difference in tone in these continental plays. In them Longinus is no longer the grave, more or less definitely Biblical, figure of the soldier at the cross. He has become a character, frequently a distinctly humorous one. He and his servant furnish amusement. The contrast in consequence after his conversion is all the more striking.

In England, on the other hand, at least so far as the extant texts are concerned, the story of Longinus in the crucifixion plays never underwent any great dramatic development; the episode was introduced, but was treated in crude and mechanical fashion. It is possible, however, that in England also the episode was later more developed. Among the Corpus Christi pageants at Hereford, according to the Register of the Corporation for 1503, was a play, "Longys with his Knyghtes," which was assigned to the "Smythes."[123] These 'Knyghtes' in all probability correspond to the servants or companions found in the French and German plays, who serve to lighten and elaborate the incident and to increase the importance of Longinus.

[123] Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, Appendix, 368, 369.

CHAPTER VII

LONGINUS AND THE BALDR LEGEND

One of the problems most discussed in connection with the Longinus story is its possible relationship with the Baldr myth, as it appears in the Eddic poems. In the well known tale of Baldr, the beautiful, the god without blemish, the son of Odin, beloved of all the other gods, save Loki alone, resemblances to the Longinus story are easily recognized.

Baldr's mother Frigg exacted from all things in the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral worlds, an oath that they would not slay her son. The gods then, secure against the possibility of injuring Baldr, found pastime in hurling all sorts of missiles at his invulnerable body. But Loki, the evil one, took on the form of a woman, and learned from Frigg that there was a little tree westward from Valhal too young to take the oath—the mistletoe. When Loki found the blind God Hoðr standing on the outside of the circle, he asked him why he too did not shoot at Baldr. And when Hoðr answered that he could not see, and had no weapon, Loki put the mistletoe arrow in his hand and aimed it for him. Baldr, struck by it, fell to the ground dead. His body was then placed on a funeral pile on his ship Ringhorn. With Baldr was laid Nanna, his wife, who died from sorrow, and both were burned.

Bugge traces the Norse form of this legend to the Gospel of Nicodemus and mediæval English sources, making the casting of the mistletoe by the blind Hoðr a reproduction of the thrusting of the spear into the side of

Jesus by the blind Longinus.[1] Bugge calls attention to the fact that in accounts of the legend current among the English and Irish, as well as elsewhere, the blind Longinus has the spear put into his hand and his aim directed just as is the case with Hoðr.[2] And he adds that the belief was common in England and Ireland that Christ did not die until pierced by the lance of Longinus. Loki is identified with Lucifer.

Bugge's conclusion with regard to the connection of the Baldr story and the legend of Longinus, is of course used by him to support his general thesis: "that at the time when the mythological Eddic stories took shape, Norwegians and Icelanders were not uninfluenced by the rest of Europe, but that they were subjected, on the contrary, to a strong and lasting influence from the Christian English and Irish."[3] This influence, he believes, was operative in the ninth and tenth centuries. Into this larger question we need not at present enter. As propounded by Bugge, it aroused, as de la Saussaye remarks, "a storm of both approval and disapproval, which has not yet subsided."[4] It is sufficient here to note that

[1] *The Home of the Eddic Poems*, trans. by W. H. Schofield, 1899, p. xlii ff.

[2] Cf. *Acta S. Julianae* (*Belles Lettres Juliana*, p. 39. *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb., tom. II, Feb. 16). The devil tempts Juliana: "Ego sum qui feci Adam et Evam in paradiso praevaricari; ego sum qui feci ut Cain interfeceret Abel fratrem suum . . . ; ego sum qui feci Judam tradere Filium Dei . . . ; ego sum qui compunxi militem lancea sauciare latus Filii Dei," etc., etc.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. xv.

[4] In *The Religion of the Teutons*. 1902, p. 38 ff., de la Saussaye gives a summary of criticism on the question of how far such foreign influence must be admitted, for the general subject of Norse mythology. F. Kauffmann, *Balder, Mythus und Sage*, 1902, has performed a similar service for the history of Baldr criticism.

it is the view of most recent critics that Bugge carried his theory too far.

As to the specific relationship of the story of Baldr with that of Longinus, the present attitude is fairly summarized by Kauffmann:

"Seine Deutung [Bugge's] der einzelnen Figuren auf Jesus oder auf Achilleus erscheint aber genau ebenso willkürlich als die von andern gegebenen Deutungen auf die Sonne oder auf die Unschuld oder auf einen Vegetationsdämon. Die Neueren haben daher entweder an der physikalischen Bedeutung (Much) oder an der moralischen Formel (Detter) festgehalten und (wie z. B. Frazer) auf die Buggesche Sagenkritik überhaupt keine Rücksicht genommen. Selbst diejenigen Forscher, die, wie W. Golther und E. H. Meyer, auf die Gedanken Bugge's eingegangen sind, messen seinen Christlichen und antiken Parallelen nur accessorische Bedeutung zu.[5]

It is difficult, in the confusion of views at present held by mythologists, to form any opinion as to the origin of the Baldr story. There are arguments offered, though in no case are they entirely satisfactory, in support of many theories. Baldr is explained as Apollo, as Achilles, as Christ, as tree spirit, sun-god, wind-god, moon-god, as the representative of good in the struggle between good and evil, or as peace in that between peace and war, as mere man exalted to the position of a god, or, as one of the most recent investigators of the myth interprets it, as sin-offering or scapegoat for his people. With the ultimate origin of the myth the present study has no concern. Nor can it undertake to decide whether Bugge is right or not in affirming that the form of the story in Saxo Grammaticus is reminiscent of an older type of the legend than that found in the Eddic poems. The question of the influence of Longinus is confined to the versions

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

of the story found in scattered fragments in *Voluspá*, in *Gylfaginning*, in *Baldrs Draumar*, and *Lokasenna*.

As evidence in general for English and Irish influence on the Norse lays, Bugge points to the fact that the poems contain not only words of English origin, but also 'poetic,' saga-historical and mythical motives, in the action of the stories and in their composition, which he likewise traces to English sources.

His conclusion that the Baldr story is dependent on the Christian, he bases on the following resemblances: as in the Christian story, Baldr's death is important; all else is subordinate or omitted; his fall is the turning point in the history of the world. Both Christ and Baldr die in their youth. Baldr's slayer, Hoðr, is blind, but his blindness is only connected with the slaying of Baldr, as he is not blind otherwise. His blindness, moreover, is the outer sign of inner spiritual blindness: "he is not moved by malice, like Loki, but acts without knowing what he does." In this respect the story is similar to that of Christ slain by the blind Longinus—the spiritually blind,—the instrument used by the devil. Bugge further notes that the mistletoe, not common in Scandinavia, is well known in England; he thinks the mistletoe weapon used by Hoðr is explained by the superstition current in the west of England, that the cross of the crucifixion was made of mistletoe. At the time of Christ the mistletoe was a forest tree, but because of the wicked use to which it was put, it was cursed and became an insignificant plant.[6] Moreover, both Baldr and Jesus are white, without blemish. Both visit hell. Again there is

[6] Bugge refers for this statement to Thiselton Dyer, *English Folk-Lore*, London, 1878, 34. Cf. *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter. und Heldensagen*, p. 50.

similarity in the punishment to which their enemies are doomed; Loki, bound in consequence of Baldr's death, recalls Lucifer bound in darkness forever.[7]

Striking resemblances are here noticeable—the most interesting are the main incidents: both Christ and Baldr are slain by blind men, not themselves responsible for their deeds, but instigated by evil powers. One uses a spear; the other a mistletoe dart. There are, however, difficulties, and I find myself, in consequence, of the opinion of those later critics who think this Christian influence secondary in importance, and that the myth, before coming in contact with the Longinus story, must have had much more its present form than Bugge appears to think probable.

§1. The Difficulty of Chronology

The first obstacle in the way of Longinus as a source for the blindness of Hoðr is one of chronology. Bugge takes it that these lays were written in all probability in England in the ninth or tenth centuries. It will be remembered that the first positive evidence of the blindness of Longinus is found in a St. Gall MS of the ninth century,[8] where the blood from the side of Jesus is shown touching the eyes of Longinus. That this trait of the story was even then not generally current, is shown by its absence from the martyrologies of the ninth and tenth centuries. Moreover, if these Norse stories were written in England as the result of the Longinus legend popular there, they would apparently precede any English story of the same type. The first vernacular account of Longinus

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxxix ff.
[8] See above, p. 48.

in England, as far as I know, is found in Ælfric's sermon on the Exaltation of the Cross,[9] which belongs to the end of the tenth century, and which contains no reference to the blindness.

§2. The Gosforth Cross

Again, there are other stories which explain both the mistletoe weapon and the blindness, and, consequently, make one hesitate to take the Longinus story, which lacks many of the other elements of the legend, as the only, or even the most important, source of the Baldr myth. Before considering these directly, I shall examine another bit of the evidence offered by Bugge for England as the chief source of influence in the Baldr story, a point which is more or less closely connected with one of these stories.

For confirmation of his theory Bugge appeals to the Gosforth Cross in Cumberland, which, as he takes it, dates from about the ninth century. Bugge is here mistaken in the date. All these early crosses[10] are now considered later than they were formerly. To this statement the Gosforth Cross forms no exception. Collingwood connects it with "Irish Viking thought and work" and remarks: "It is just possible that the idea was brought to this coast, frequented by Vikings, at an early time in the eleventh century."[11] Even if the date of the cross did not make it too late to serve as a source for the Eddic lays, there would be other difficulties. For this monument is a curious mixture of pagan and Christian elements. Surmounted by a cross, and adorned on

[9] *EETS.*, 94, p. 114; 46, p. 107.

[10] Professor Cook now thinks the Bewcastle cross dates from about the middle of the twelfth century.

[11] Collingwood, *Early Sculptural Crosses*, p. 167.

one side by a crucifixion scene, its other sides are much more easily explained by Scandinavian than by Christian story. As G. Stephens says, it is "redolent of heathendom." "It openly handles the true faith in a light and interpretation, taken from that olden creed which the Gospel came to supplant. We have pagan Gods and Myths, honorably treated, straight before our eyes."[12]

Bugge, in his discussion of the Gosforth Cross, says: "On the west side of this cross may be seen a woman sitting over a fettered man. She is holding a cup in her hand in such a position, that she appears to be pouring out its contents. The man is lying on his back, bound hand and foot, as it seems, to a rock. Close to the man's head may be seen the head of a snake." He identifies the man and woman as the bound Loki and Sigyn, his wife. On the east side he sees "Longinus piercing the crucified Christ with his lance." He adds: "The carvings on this monument argue, then, for the view that the author of *Voluspá* heard in northern England the story of Loki and Sigyn, or verses which treated that story. He may possibly have seen the Gosforth Cross himself, and have been told the story of Loki and Sigyn in explanation of the scenes carved thereon." In the next line he states that "In Codex Regius of *Voluspá,* the section *on Baldr's death and Loki's punishment* is placed directly before the strophes on the places of torment of the dead," etc.[13] The question inevitably presents itself: if the author is drawing his inspiration from the cross story only, and if he has no other similar legend of Baldr in mind, why does he replace the crucifixion of Christ with the death of Baldr, a death ac-

[12] *Prof. S. Bugge's Studies on Northern Mythology*, 1883, p. 23.
[13] Bugge, *Home of the Eddic Poems*, pp. xlviii-xlix.

companied by the oath of the plants, the burning of Baldr and Nanna, and other incidents not known to the story of Longinus?

Moreover, a wholly different explanation for the east face of the Gosforth Cross—and one which connects it directly with Scandinavian mythology—has been suggested by W. S. Calverley.[14] "But who is this central figure on the east side of the cross? who with stretched out arms grasps the rope-like border of the oblong panel, whose side is pierced with the spear. It may be that same Odin whom we have already twice seen [elsewhere on the cross]; for does not Odin's Rune-song say:

> 'I know that I hung on a wind-rocked tree,
> Nine whole nights, with a spear wounded,
> And to Odin offered, myself to myself:
> On that tree of which no one knows
> From what root it springs;'

or it may be Baldr the beautiful, the peace-giver, . . . who by the treachery of Loki was slain, . . . And so the beardless man to the left, holding the spear, may be blind Hodr: . . . and the woman to the right may well be Nanna, the wife of Baldr, . . . or it may be Frigg, who should grieve a second time over the death of Odin, her beloved."

If this is Christian teaching, and it may be,[15] clearly strongly pagan myth is used—and myth that is already formed and consequently familiar to the people taught by it, rather than new myths in the making. This episode may represent a Baldr—or Odin—Christ, but in the cases of other carvings on the cross, the Christian parallel is

[14] *Archeological Journal*, XL (1883), 151 ff.

[15] E. H. Meyer, *Die eddische Kosmogonie*, p. 22, shows how in the catacombs, Christian lessons were taught by pagan mythology.

not so obvious. The Loki story has no counterpart in Christian legend which would account for it satisfactorily. Again the great wolves Skioll and Hati rush to attack the sun and the moon. Heimdall, "the warder of Asgard" who by a blast on the "Giallahorn" has awakened "the Ases and Einherian," and Odin riding to seek knowledge in "Mimer's well" as well as other figures readily explained by the *"Voluspá* appear. The fact that the whole cross is indubitably meant to tell Scandinavian story of course makes the Scandinavian the better interpretation for the crucifixion face. It would, however, be difficult to explain this face entirely by Christian analogy if it stood alone. As a matter of fact there is only the semblance of a cross. The figure is surrounded by a rope. The outstretched arms suggest the cross. There is also unquestionably a woman with long hair standing opposite the spearman. This is very unusual if the cross represents the crucifixion of Christ. As shown above, the early type is that in which the spearman and the sponge bearer appear as corresponding figures. A little later when Mary is included in the group, she is placed opposite John, the first two figures being still retained, thus making two figures on each side of the cross. The fact that such a cross as this can be explained satisfactorily by taking its carvings as illustrations of Scandinavian myth, and is less easily explained by Christian interpretations, must suggest that in the early days of its history it was probably considered either pagan or Christian according to the desire of the beholder. As an evidence of Christian coloring in the Voluspa it is not convincing. The use of legend makes it Scandinavian and the date of the Eddaic poems, which according to Bugge took shape during the ninth and

tenth centuries, would make the cross too late for any possible influence on their formation.

§3. The Odin Story

This Odin story is itself interesting as a possible prototype of the Baldr legend. Bugge would explain it as also due to the influence of the crucifixion of Christ. Others differ. Mogk[16] says of the lines quoted from the *Voluspá* "Die Windgott erzählt, wie er in seiner Jugend neun Nächte in Weltenbaume gehangen, mit dem Speere verwundet, er sich selbst geopfert, und wie er da niedergespäht und die Runen gehoben und von Mimir gelernt und den Dichtermeet geschöpft habe, bis er zu dem wurde, was er jetzt vor der Welt ist: das weiseste aller Wesen."[17]

O. Bray comments on the same passage in *Voluspá:* "The sacrifice depicted resembles in many points the human sacrifices that were offered to Odin." Concerning the general type to which this story belongs, she says: "This legend in outline is of a god—call him Odin, Baldr, Osiris, Ishtar, Adonis,—who must be sacrificed or voluntarily die in order that he may rise again in fullness of power, or even give place to some new god. Sometimes it is clear that he typifies the beneficent powers of nature, whether as the sun or the spring, or summer fruitfulness: but occasionally, as here, his significance is more doubtful."[18]

16 Paul's *Grundriss* III, 343: "Christlichen Einfluss, d. h. den am Kreuze hängenden Christus, in diesem Mythus zu finden, wie Bugge will, ist nicht nötig." C. de la Saussaye, *op. cit.*, p. 231, thinks Bugge's view is not to be followed. He cites Gering and Mullenhoff.

17 Paul's *Grundriss* II, 588.

18 *The Elder Edda*, 1908, p. xxx.

Not very different from this last conception is Frazer's idea of Odin, as he considers Adonis, Attis and Osiris different names for the same god. "The human victims dedicated to Odin," says Frazer, "were regularly put to death by hanging, or by a combination of hanging and stabbing, the man being strung up to a tree or a gallows, and then wounded with a spear."[19] Frazer sees the counterpart of these Odin sacrifices in the Attis cult. Taking Marsyas, who was hanged on a tree (and whose story is attested), as a double of Attis, he remarks: "We may conjecture that in the old days the priest who bore the name and played the part of Attis at the spring festival of Cybele, was regularly hanged or otherwise slain upon the sacred tree, and that this barbarous custom was afterwards mitigated into the form in which it is known to us in later times, when the priest merely drew blood from his body under the tree and attached an effigy instead of himself to its trunk."[20]

Bugge's opinion is made the less convincing by the fact that we find connected with sacrifices to Odin such stories as this of Vikar. Kauffmann tells it, paraphrasing the Norse, as follows:

"König Vikarr zeigte sich als gewaltiger Kriegsmann. Er hatte viele ausgezeichnete Kämpen um sich, aber der angesehenste von allen und der Liebling des Königs war Starkaðr; er stand ihm zunächst an Rang, war sein Berater und Heerführer und seit langen Jahren in seinem Dienst. Da segelte Vikarr mit starker Mannschaft von Agðir nordwärts nach Hǫrðaland musste jedoch wegen schlecten Wetters lange in den Schären liegen bleiben. Man

[19] S. Bugge, *Stud. über die Entstehung der nörd. Götter- u. Heldensagen*, 1889, p. 339; K. Simrock, *Die Edda*, p. 382; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde* IV, 244 seq.; H. M. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, 1899, pp. 3-20. All these are cited by Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 186.

[20] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 186.

holte ein Orakel ein; dabei wurde kundgegeben, dass Odin als Opfer nach dem Loos einen Mann aus der Kriegsschar fordere. Es wurde geloost und es sprang das Loos König Vikars heraus. Alle verstummten. Man kam überein, sich über die Notlage zu beraten. Um Mitternacht weckte Hrosshársgrani den Starkaðr und forderte ihn auf, ihm zu folgen. Sie nahmen ein kleines Boot, ruderten zu einer Insel hinüber, wanderten das Gehölz hinauf, kamen an eine Rodung und trafen dort eine grosse Versammlung. Da sassen elf Männer auf Stühlen; ein zwölfter Sitz war leer; den nahm Hrosshársgrani ein und alle begrüssten ihn als Odin. Er forderte die Richter auf, dem Starkaðr sein Schicksal zu bestimmen. Þórr legte ihm das eine, Odin anderes auf und als dies vollendet war, ging die Versammlung auseinander. Da sagte Hrosshársgrani zu Starkaðr, er habe für das ihm erwiesene Wohlwollen auf Dankbarkeit Anspruch und verlange von ihm den König Vikarr. Starkaðr sagte zu. Da gab ihm Hrosshársgrani einen Speer (*geirr*) in die Hand und sagte, das solle ein Rohrstengel sein (*reyrsproti*). Am andern Morgen versammelten sich die Berater des Königs und einigten sich, das Opfer zu veranstalten. Auf dem Opferplatz stand eine Föhre und ein hoher Baumstumpf. Unten an der Föhre befand sich ein dünner Ast (*kvistr mjór*, vgl. Vol. 32, 33). Starkaðr stieg auf den Baumstumpf, bog den dünnen Ast herab und sprach zu dem König: 'Nun ist dein Galgen fertig, er sieht nicht eben gefährlich aus, komm her, ich will dir die Wide um den Hals legen.' Der König antwortete: 'Ist dies nicht gefährlicher als es aussieht, dann dürfte es mir nichts schaden.' Er trat auf den Baumstumpf, Starkaðr legte ihm die Wide um den Hals, stach den König mit dem Rohrstengel, rief: 'Jetzt opfere ich dich dem Odin' und liess dem Föhrenast los. Der Rohrstengel aber war zum Speer geworden und hatte den König durchborht; oben im Gezweig schwebte er und starb."[21]

Bugge thinks this story of Vikar not uninfluenced by the account in the *Hávamál* of Odin's hanging himself.[22] But though he thinks the Hávamál story of Odin shows Christian influence, he explains otherwise other sacrifices

[21] Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 247 f. Cf. Ranisch, *Gautrekssaga*, *Palaestra* XI, p. cix; cf. Detter, *Beitr.* 19, p. 500; C. de la Saussaye, *op. cit.*, p. 372; Bugge, *Studien*, p. 339 ff.

[22] Bugge, *Studien*, 342.

to Odin. "Das Resultat der obigen Auseinandersetzung ist also, dass der Mythus, Oðinn sei am Galgen als Opfer gehangen, erst in der Wikingerzeit durch den Einfluss von Erzählungen irischer oder englischer Christen über Christus entstanden ist, während der Brauch dem Oðinn oder Wodan Menschen am Galgen zu opfern bei den Nordgermanen uralt und ächt germanisch ist. Dieser Brauch musste aber in hohem Grade dazu beitragen, dass die Erzählung von Christus, der als Opfer am Galgen hieng, von heidnischen Nordleuten in einen Mythus von Oðinn verwandelt wurde, und musste unwilkürlich mit der eigenen Opferung des Gottes am Galgen in Verbindung gebracht werden."[23]

If, however, Odin sacrifices are primitive Germanic, the elements in the Vikar story not explained by Odin or Christian influence, such as the piercing with the cane which turned to a spear when dedicated to Odin, may also well be primitive.[24]

These stories make it seem probable that Baldr was substituted for Odin, or that Baldr was himself a sacrifice to Odin. The Baldr story finds close parallel in the Vikar. Odin replaces Loki as the real opponent of the victim; Starkaðr, Hoðr; and Vikar, Baldr. The weapons used—plants that change into spears—in themselves suggest some ritual tradition. Such ritual traditions are offered in explanation of the story by two of the most recent interpretations of the myth, those of Frazer and Kauffmann.

[23] *Ibid.*, 344 f.

[24] This must recall what looks like a Christian parallel. *Gospel of Peter*, Swete 1893, 25: "Others pierced Him with a reed." There is no suggestion of death here, however. It is part of the mocking and may be due merely to the smiting on the head with a reed found in Matthew.

§4. Frazer's Explanation of the Baldr Myth.

Frazer, in discussing the Baldr myth, selects as the two fundamentally important traits: (1) pulling the mistletoe, and (2) burning the god.[25] Neither of them is explained, it will be noticed, by the Longinus story.

In connection with the second point, Frazer shows that in most parts of Europe bonfires on certain days of the year have been burned from time immemorial. He quotes Mannhardt,[26] as authority for the statement that in the eighth century attempts were made by Christian synods "to put them down as heathenish rites." By numerous illustrations drawn from customs in Rhenish Prussia, in the Tyrol, in Swabia, in Oldenburg, in Aachen and other parts of Germany; in the Highlands of Scotland, in Sweden, in France, in England, in Ireland, in Slavonic countries, in Greece, Italy and Spain, he shows how common these fires were. Moreover, he brings out many traces of human sacrifices in these customs. The burning of effigies in the midsummer fires was not uncommon. These effigies, from numerous indications, represented either the fertilizing tree spirit, or the spirit of vegetation. Frazer says: "When the god happens to be a deity of vegetation, there are special reasons why he should die by fire. For light and heat are necessary to vegetable growth; and, on the principle of sympathetic magic, by subjecting the personal representative of vegetation to their influence, you secure a supply of these necessaries for trees and crops."[27] The

[25] *Golden Bough*, II, 246.

[26] *Baumkultus*, p. 518 seq. For development of the "Johannis feuer" theory see Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[27] *Golden Bough*, II, 276.

fact that in Sweden these fires were known as Baldr's bale-fires, according to Frazer, "puts their connection with Baldr beyond the reach of doubt, and makes it certain that in former times either a living representative or an effigy of Baldr must have been annually burned in them."[28]

The fires are generally burned at midsummer, and it is customary also (among Celts and Scandinavians) to gather mistletoe at midsummer.[29] Frazer shows that oak was the wood used in these fires, and so establishes connection with the mistletoe element of the legend. Baldr was the spirit of the oak; the mistletoe, according to primitive belief, was the seat of life of the oak. It is logical to suppose that, like the tree, Baldr could be neither killed nor wounded so long as the mistletoe remained uninjured. "The pulling of the mistletoe was thus at once the signal and the cause of his death." Baldr's story, then, if we accept Frazer's theory, is to be connected with vegetation rites of the most primitive kind.

Frazer does not, it is true, explain the blindness of Hoðr. There is no mention of blindness in the stories which have to do with tree-spirit rites. Very similar, however, are the corn-spirit rites. In both ceremonies, the spirit is represented by a person, and in both its spirit has fertilizing influence. Clearly they are nearly akin. Frazer, in his discussion of the Baldr myth, calls attention to the fact that the slayers of the corn-spirit are frequently blindfolded. He cites instances of the custom in Ireland. Sometimes the corn-spirit was represented by a cock tied upon a man's back. Other men, blindfolded, struck at it with branches, until it died.[30]

[28] *Ibid.*, II, 289-290.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 295.
[30] *Ibid.*, II, 360.

§5. Kauffmann's Theory

Kauffmann, also, bases his theory on a rite. He thinks Frazer's study important and, to an extent, trustworthy, but urges the objection that only Baldr is accounted for by his explanation, that Hoðr, Loki, and the other gods are not included.[31] "Nun scheinen die der Opferung Balders gleichenden Opferspiele der Gegenwart eben die Schlussfolgerung nahezulegen, dass ununterbrochen und in steter Folge am ende eines jeden Jahres ein bildlich an das mythische Uropfer erinnerndes Sühnopfer dargebracht wurde. Frazer hat diesen Schluss gezogen und ich bin geneigt, mich ihm anzuschliessen. Nur würden nicht die Johannisfeuer, sondern die um die Jahreswende (alten Stils) datierten Festbräuches des Todaustragens ein Anrecht darauf besitzen, die Ueberbleibsel eines altgermanischen Jahresopfers zu enthalten, das im Baldermythus seine magische Weihe fand."[32] And again, "Schliesslich verträgt sich Balders Opferung als 'Sündenbock' aufs beste mit dem Volksbrauch, am Ende jedes Jahres auf einen erlesenen Opferkönig spielweise die Jahresschuld abzuladen und die Sühnung und Läuterung der Gemeinde zu bewerkstelligen."

Kauffmann suggests also that Vali, the son of Odin and Rind, and the avenger of Baldr's death, may be the god of the new year, as distinguished from Baldr, the god of the old or dying year.[33]

Hoðr as the one who makes the sacrifice, is equal with Baldr. "Die beiden im Opfersakrament verbundenen

31 Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.
32 *Ibid.*, p. 302.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

Hauptpersonen werden gerne als Brüder bezeichnet und göttliche Wesensgemeinschaft trifft auch für Hoðr und Balder zu."[34] Hoðr, however, according to the tradition of such ritual, must be punished. Starkaðr, the slayer of Vikar as an Odin-sacrifice, had to flee; so Hoðr is banished.[35]

As to the mistletoe, Kauffmann finds it impossible to decide which is the original form of the legend—that in which the sword figured, as in Saxo, or that where the mistletoe was used, as in the *Voluspá*.[36] He calls attention to the folk idea that the soul (or the death) of a person may exist in a plant—as the mistletoe, or in a stone, or in a fish, and to the fact that the person may not be injured in any way whatsoever, "weil seine Seele nicht in ihm ist."[37]

He likens the use of the mistletoe in the case of Baldr's death to that of the *reyrsproti* in Vikar's. In both cases the sacrificial weapon takes the form of a plant that becomes a spear when employed in the sacrifice.[38] In a note he calls attention to the custom among certain peoples of using in the sacrifice not knives, but reeds. He says: "Dem *reyrteinn* des Odin entspricht der *mistelteinn* des Loki. Beide sind als biegsame zweige von den heiligen Bäumen der Götter geholt und als deren Opferwaffen dedacht."[39]

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 260. Note here the equality which Kauffmann thinks essential in the Baldr-Loki relation as compared with the opponents in the Christian story.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 157 ff.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 250. Cf. Gruppe, *Bericht über Myth. und Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 373. "Die Mistel ist in der germanischen Welt allgemein eine Zauber-und Wunderpflanze, die in

The blindness of Hoðr, Kauffmann explains as follows: "Die (episodische) 'Blindheit' Hoðrs ist das Symbol seiner (zeitweiligen) Zugehörigkeit zu Loki."[40]

Frazer, it was noted, made the important traits the pulling of the mistletoe and the burning of the god. Kauffmann emphasizes the second of these, though he ascribes a larger motive—the god is burned not only to insure fertility and consequent prosperity, but to free men from sin and to give new life to the people. He accepts the suggestion of the mistletoe-soul, but—though he is not clear on this point—appears to apply it differently. He makes the mistletoe the symbol of Loki, god of the underworld or of death—and, consequently, a death-bringing instrument.

If Frazer and Kauffmann are right in making the burning of the god the most important trait in the Baldr story, then likeness to Longinus ceases. Any one of the explanations offered in these discussions in regard to the mistletoe—as the seat of the soul of the oak, and so of the oak spirit, as Odin-weapon, like the *reyrsproti*, or as Loki's peculiar magic symbol—is more satisfactory than the view that it developed from the lance of Longinus. The idea that the spearman is himself not responsible for the deed is not particularly stressed by Frazer or Kauff-

besonderer Beziehung zur Erregung und Löschung des Feuers zu stehen scheint, was wahrscheinlich mit der Verwendung der Mistel beim Reibefeuerzeug jusammenhängt. Aus eben diesem Grunde ist sie wohl in die Sage vom Feuergott Loki gekommen."

[40] Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 244. Cf. Detter, *Beiträge, z. Geschichte d. deutsch. Sprach. u. Litt.*, XIX, 504, who makes Odin the original evil spirit in the Baldr story, from the fact (1) that Odin, the one-eyed god of death, was probably the original blind god; and (2) from the mistletoe motive. Cf. the Vikar story where the *reyrsproti* was changed to a spear by Starkaðr's words: "Now give I thee to Odin."

mann, though in both cases the officiating sacrificial priest, or spearman, would be merely the instrument of the opposing power. It is explained in the Odin-sacrifice stories where Odin is the real opponent. Blindness would naturally be implied in any of these cases, from the very fact that the spearman is an instrument.

§6. The Blind Spearman

This idea of the slaying of a god by one who is blind is, however, widespread. A curious instance of such blindness, which is connected also with vegetation rites for the production of life, is one that comes from Silesia. The Whitsuntide king was selected as follows: A man of straw after trial was condemned to death, and fastened to a stake for execution. The young men, blindfolded, tried to pierce him with a spear. The successful one became king.[41]

The same thing is suggested in this account of the Mahāvrata, by A. B. Keith. After discussing the custom of removing the skin of the sacrificed animal, he adds: "More obscure is another rite mentioned in all the sources. To the left of the Agnīdhra priest were placed two posts, on which was hung up as a target a completely round skin; or . . . two skins, one for the chief archer, and the other for any others who were good shots. . . . The exact meaning of the ritual is by no means clear. It may be compared with the Lapp ritual; after slaying a bear . . . they hung its skin on a post and women, blindfolded, shot arrows at it."[42]

[41] Frazer, *Lectures on Early Hist. of Kingship*, 1905, p. 166.

[42] *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the Hist. of Religion*, II, 56, 57.

Irish hero tales also offer parallels. Sometimes the suggestion is only that the hero is slain from ambush or by treachery; sometimes the slayer is blind, or has some affliction of the eyes.

Rhys tries to show parallelism between the sun-god Lŭg (or Cuchulainn) and Baldr. Just as Hoðr (blind) slew Balder with the mistletoe at the instigation of Loki, Cuchulainn was slain by Erc or Lugaid, apparently at the instigation of the one-eyed daughters of Calatin. Rhys points out similarity in the names of the avengers of the two heroes, and in the way the slayers are caught—both in water.[43] All this is far from clear as Rhys works it out, but the suggestion is interesting.

Lleu, the sun-god of the Britons, is killed by his wife's lover Grouw. The wife finds out from Lleu how he can be killed. "He told her that he could only die in one way; he could not be killed either inside or outside a house, either on horseback or on foot, but that if a spear that had been a year in the making, and which was never worked upon except during the sacrifice on Sunday, were to be cast at him as he stood beneath a roof of thatch, after having just bathed, with one foot upon the edge of the bath and the other upon a buck goat's back, it would cause his death." Grouw made the spear; the wife prepared the bath. Grouw, from ambush, flung the spear and struck Lleu, who turned into an eagle, from whose wound great pieces of carrion are continually falling.[44]

Another case is found in the slaying of Xuada by Balor of the Evil Eye. Balor, the most terrible of the For-

[43] *Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, p. 529 f.; cf. Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain*, 1903, p. 339.

[44] Charles Squire, *The Mythology of the British Isles*, 1905, p. 266; cf. *ibid.*, p. 16.

mors, had two eyes, but one was always kept shut, for it slew anyone on whom he looked. "This malignant quality of Balor's eye was not natural to him, but was the result of an accident. Urged by curiosity, he once looked in at the window of a house where his father's sorcerers were preparing a magic potion, and the poisonous smoke from the cauldron reached his eye, infecting it with so much of its own deadly nature as to make it disastrous to others. . . . Balor was allowed to live only on condition that he kept his terrible eye shut. On days of battle he was placed opposite to the enemy, and the lid of the destroying eye was lifted up with a hook."[45] It is perhaps worth noting that Cumall, who is supposed to be Nuada reincarnated, shared a somewhat similar fate, Cumall being slain by the one-eyed Aed.[46]

Cumall was slain by one who has many names, Arc Dubh (Black-Black) and Aed (afterwards Goll). Goll was wounded by Luchtet and his eye destroyed, hence his name became Goll. His treachery cost Cumall his life. Asked by the enemies of Cumall how he could be slain, he refused to tell until he was threatened with death. Then he said Cumall could be slain only by his own sword, and with that only when the hero was in the arms of his wife. Arc Dubh traitorously placed the sword on Cumall's neck when he was asleep, and so killed him.[47]

One wonders why the slayer of gods and heroes is so often made blind. We have seen that in the case of Longinus, the legend that grew up about the piercer of the side of Jesus could easily be explained on the score that spiritual blindness was often mistakenly described as

45 Squire, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
46 Henderson, *Celt. Review*, I, 204.
47 George Henderson, *Celtic Review*, I (1904-05), 204, and II, 5.

physical. Changes like this were constantly taking place. Such tales, as these just summarized, however, suggest another possible origin. It would not be unnatural for such a widespread folk idea to attach itself also to the slayer of Christ. Either explanation would have remained apocryphal.

Though the tracing of the element of blindness to such ancient rites as the killing of the corn-spirit is entirely reasonable, another ancient conception may also have affected it. The slayer may simply be Death, who blindly slays all. This conjecture is made plausible by the circumstance that death is frequently represented with a spear. In a British Museum MS (Addit. 37,049), of the first half of the fifteenth century, Death with a spear is seen piercing the right side of a man in bed. Blood runs from the wound just as in the crucifixion. Death says,

> "I have sought the many a day
> For to have the to my pray."[48]

In MS Stowe 39, *The Desert of Religion*, on the last leaf, Death, armed with a spear, confronts a knight, a king, and an archbishop, with verses appropriate to each.[49] The following lines from Chaucer also describe Death with a spear as his weapon:

> Ther cam a privee thief, men clepeth Death,
> That in this contre al the peple sleith,
> And with his spere he smoot his herte a-too
> And wente his wey with-outan wordes mo.[50]

[48] Fol. 38. Miss Louise Dudley called my attention to these illustrations; cf. in the same MS, fols. 19, 39b, 40b, 42a, 42b, 43a and 69.

[49] Cat. of Stowe MS. Brit. Mus. 1895, p. 24; cf. Cotton MS, Faustina B. 6, §2; Add. 37049, §43, fol. 46.

[50] *Pardoner's Tale*. 675 ff.

Many other instances might be cited.[51]

A suggestion that in some confused way Longinus represented malign power, is shown in this queer old ballad, which still preserves the tradition in Wales. The ballad is in the form of a dialogue between Our Lady and the Holy Child: "Fair Mother Mary, sleepest thou? Yes, my dear Son, I am dreaming. Fair mother, what seest thou in thy dream? I see Thee beset, and pursued, and taken, and crucified, and Thy hands and feet nailed. A *dark blind man,* deceived by the Fiend,[52] is piercing Thee in Thy right side with the point of a spear; and all Thy blessed Blood is being shed."[53] Whether the blind piercer is Death with a spear or not, this idea and the fact that it was so often shown pictorially would influence the story of Longinus and would tend to make the spearman a dark, evil force.

In view of all these stories, which show more or less similar traits—most of which obviously could not go back to the Longinus legend as a source—one hesitates to accept the Baldr myth as in any sense derived from the Christian legend. Whatever parallels may exist between Baldr and the Christian story are probably to be explained by the fact that the Baldr myth, going back as it does to primitive ritual customs, was, before it came in contact with the Christian story, made up of much the same essential traits, that now characterize it; though in its later stages, it is highly probable that the Norse tale has been somewhat influenced by the Christian.

51 *Court of Love*, l.294 "Though Deth therfore me thirleth with his spere." Sloane MS, 1896, no. 37, fol. 45. Death with an hour-glass in the one hand, and a spear in the other, threateneth all estates.

52 Cf. *Acta S. Julianae* (*Belles Lettres Juliana*), p. 39.

53 Robt. Owen, *Sanctorale Catholicum*, Lond., 1880, p. 142.

The theories of Frazer and Kauffmann make this later connection with Jesus and Longinus all the more probable. They have shown that the story of Baldr can be explained by mythic rites, which have as basic ideas the sacrifice of a god in order to obtain renewed life, physical or moral, for his people. With so much in common, it is not difficult to see how in the latest development of the Baldr story influence of the Christian legend might be suspected. That the Christian legend could be the source of the Baldr story in its Norse form, it is hardly possible to admit, both on account of the dates and of such mythological resemblances as have been pointed out by Frazer and Kauffmann.[54]

[54] Cf. Hubert Mauss, *L'Année Sociale*, p. 121 ff. for explanation of the ordinary interpretation of the myth: "Le thème du sacrifice du dieu est un motif dont l'imagination mythologique a librement usé . . . la mort mythique du dieu rappelle le sacrifice rituel: elle est entourée par la légende, d'ailleurs obscure, mal transmise, incomplète de circonstances qui permettent d'en déterminer la véritable nature . . . l'épisode des theomachies est l'une des formes mythologiques du sacrifice du dieu . . . l'origine des mythes de cette forme a été généralement oubliée; ils sont présentés comme des combats météorologiques entre les dieux de la lumière et ceux des ténèbres ou de l'abîme." Cf. Kauffmann, 273-4; Cf. Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 324 ff., who sees the kernel of the myth of Baldr in the death of the god by the weapon in the hands of his enemy, Hoðr, and in the avenging of his murder by his brother. Baldr is the sun-god, and the myth is a year myth. Loki naturally is the enemy of the sun. Later other elements were added—the oath, the mistletoe, which is known in folk-lore as a protection against sorcery. It replaces the sword of the earlier form.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LANCE OF LONGINUS AND THE GRAIL

§1. Survey of Testimony

The bleeding lance in the Grail romances is specifically identified by the writers after Crestien with the lance of Longinus. In Wauchier's continuation of Crestien's *Perceval* the lance which Gawain sees bleeding into a silver cup, is explained as that with which the Son of God was pierced in the side, and which will bleed until doomsday. In Manessier's continuation, Perceval is told that the lance is that with which Longis pierced God's side the day he hung on the cross. The Didot-Perceval likewise makes the lance the crucifixion relic; when Perceval asks concerning the lance, he is informed by his grandfather that with this lance Longis pierced the side of Jesus Christ. In the Modena-Perceval, the Fisher-King tells Perceval that the lance is that which Longis thrust into the side of Christ on the cross. Again in the *Elucidation,* the seventh part of the Grail story is referred to as the one which is to tell of the lance wherewith Longis pierced the side of the King of Holy Majesty. In the *Morte D'Arthur,* Balin, in his fight with King Pellam, makes use of the same spear that Longis used when he smote our Lord to the heart. The question is raised, however, as to whether this Christianization is late, and due to the confusion of a pagan symbol with the crucifixion relic, or whether to the earliest users of the Grail legend,

Crestien and Wolfram,[1] the bleeding lance was the instrument connected with Christ's passion.

These earliest writers of the Grail romances, it is true, leave us in doubt as to their position in the matter. Crestien does not, like his continuators, explicitly tell his readers the origin of the lance. He describes it as "une blance lance" and adds:

4376 S'en ist une goute de sanc
Del fer de la lance el somet,
Et, jusqu'à la main au varlet
Couloit cele goute vermelle.

Wolfram von Eschenbach, who describes the lance as bloody and poisonous, and as that with which the Fisher-King had been wounded, fails also to give any account of its origin.

To many this failure on the part of Crestien and Wolfram to make definite statement as to the origin of the

[1] The present writer follows Golther, Brown and others in taking Crestien and Wolfram as the earliest known writers who have made literary use of the Grail legend. Miss Mary Rh. Williams (*Essai sur la composition du Roman Gallois de Peredur*, Paris, 1909) has attempted recently to show that the Welsh poem is independent of Crestien and that it was probably in part written in the twelfth century. Celtic scholars, however, have not accepted Miss Williams's conclusions. Thurneysen, *Zeits. f. Celtische Philologie*, *VIII*, 187, thinks the traces of earlier linguistic forms found in the Welsh MSS do not necessarily indicate a twelfth century original. These forms, he suggests, show rather the usage of a transition period where old and new are confused—the beginning of the thirteenth century. Professor Nitze, *Modern Language Notes*, *XXV*, 246 ff., clearly is of the opinion that Miss Williams has not succeeded in disproving Golther's contention that *Peredur* depends upon Crestien—the view which, as Professor Nitze remarks, has since 1890 found most frequent acceptance among scholars. Cf. also M. Roques, *Romania*, XXXIX, 383 ff.; Golther, *Literaturblatt*, 1910, cols. 286-287.

lance is no obstacle to belief in its Christian origin. The general Christian coloring of the Grail Castle episode has led Heinzel, Wechssler, Staerk, Burdach, Golther and others to accept unhesitatingly the Grail lance as the Christian relic. Others, though somewhat less positive in their conclusions, also contribute valuable testimony. To this class belongs Birch-Hirschfeld, who says: "Es erschein uns im höchsten Grade warhscheinlich, dass Chrestien mit jener Lanze die Waffe Longins gemeint hat, mit der Christi Seite durch-stochen ward."[2] Hertz derives the lance partly from Christian, partly from Celtic sources.[3] Newell also admits the possibility of Christian identification: "The bleeding lance was understood to be that with which Christ was wounded. Such interpretation would not be inconsistent with the ethical design of the poem, and would be sufficiently in accordance with mediæval conceptions and usages. On the other hand, it does not follow that the author intended such explanation."[4] In opposition to these, Campbell, Potvin, and Martin, among earlier critics, have taken the lance to be a Celtic talisman, and they have been followed by other investigators, notably by Nutt, and most recently by Professor A. C. L. Brown, who, supporting his view by new material, expresses his belief in the Celtic origin of the bleeding lance.

Besides these two more or less generally followed theories, the Christian and the Celtic, there are several others. Hagen says the bleeding lance is not Longinus's but a "Zeichen der Rache und des Friedens."[5] Wesselofsky makes the lance akin to the lance of Peleus. Pel-

2 *Sage vom Gral*, p. 273.
3 *Die Sage von Parzival und dem Gral*, p. 23.
4 *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 8.
5 *Der Gral*, p. 82.

linor was wounded and healed by the lance, as Peleus was wounded by Cheiron.[6] Miss Weston thinks the lance was originally "the dominant of the two Life symbols; taken into the story it was first to be Christianised; it always precedes the Grail."[7] In Professor Nitze's somewhat related hypothesis of the Grail mystery as a life-cult resembling the Greek mysteries, the lance is "the weapon with which the deity's strength has been impaired. It is the instrument of sacrifice, . . . as a part of the ritual the lance is of prime importance, since it impairs life only in order to sustain it elsewhere, the process being imitative or rather 'sympathetic' of what occurs in Nature."[8] According to Professor Baist—whose theory concerning the source of the Grail legends is, as Nutt puts it in his review, one "which treats them as happy-go-lucky manifestations of free artistic fancy"[9]—Crestien uses the lance to bring Gawain and Perceval together. Crestien, according to Baist, did not trouble about what the Grail meant. To him there was a well-known motive—the breaking of a spell by the right question. The second question asked in the Grail Castle, that concerning the bleeding of the lance, Professor Baist thinks superfluous to the Perceval legend.[10]

That the problem of the origin of the lance in the Grail stories is far from settled is made evident by the fact that the views here enumerated have all either been offered as new or urged afresh within the past year.

[6] "Zur Frage über die Heimath vom heiligen Gral," *Archiv. f. slav. Philologie*, XXIII, 374.

[7] *Legend of Sir Perceval*, II, 272.

[8] *PMLA*, XXIV, 404, 406.

[9] *Academy*, May 7, 1910.

[10] *Parzival und der Gral*, 1909, p. 42.

§2. Pagan Color in the Grail Story

This survey of the explanations offered as to the origin of the lance by the Grail writers themselves, and by investigators of the romances, shows an array of authority in favor of the Christian interpretation. Nevertheless, the Christian explanation has seemed unsatisfactory to many students of the Grail problem. The objections urged are generally much the same. Professor Nitze lays stress on the fact that "the Grail romances as a class have a heterodox tinge, which is not superficial." This trait, he finds, is characteristic of even the most Christian forms of the story.[11] Professor A. C. L. Brown's opinion is similar: "On a hypothesis of Christian origin somebody must have paganized the Grail story before it reached Chrétien and Wolfram. Somebody must have taken the most sacred legend of the Church and adapted it to the purposes of secular entertainment."[12] Nutt held much the same view. Commenting, in his review of Professor Brown's study, on the passage just quoted, he says: "This Professor Brown cannot believe; hence, like myself he seeks for the origin of what is apparently non-Christian in non-Christian romance and saga."[13]

Part of this heterodox tinge, to be sure, will easily be explained by the introduction of the Christian relic into avowedly non-Christian story. Crestien, or whoever combined the Grail and Perceval legends, as Golther[14]

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

[12] *PMLA*, XXV, 11, 12.

[13] *Academy*, May 7, 1910, p. 445.

[14] *Parzival und der Gral, in deutscher Sage des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Walhalla IV), 1908, p. 2.

and Burdoch[15] have both suggested, was treating his subject poetically, not dogmatically. His purpose was not religious edification. If, as has been suggested, the Perceval story has as its fundamental idea the instruction or training of an ideal knight,[16] what would be more natural than to combine with his education in the ordinary chivalric duties the higher training which should initiate him into the greatest spiritual mystery?

On the other hand, it is impossible to assume that the presence of barbaric coloring in any mediæval composition marks it as non-Christian. Much of the Christian writing of the Middle Ages, to the modern mind, appears almost unmitigatedly heathen in its use of revolting imagery. This tendency to make the description harrowing by bloody detail especially characterizes many literary treatments of the crucifixion, and it may be added, of the sacrament.[17] If pagan color in the accounts of the bleeding lance of the Grail romances be the chief objection to its Christian origin, those upholding this view should show that the lance with barbaric properties would be exceptional in Christian literature. Manifestly such a demonstration would be difficult. It should also be remarked that even when the bleeding lance of the Grail stories is taken in its most barbarous manifestation, as a symbol of destruction, it is yet also a symbol of sacrifice,[18] and therefore possesses to an extent mystic significance. Consequently it is easier to find resemblance between the

[15] *Literaturzeitung*, XXIV (1903), 2821.

[16] Cf. Newell, *op. cit.*, 15.

[17] Cf. for example, the mediaeval Sacrament Plays.

[18] Since the above was written, Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 112, and Mr. Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXV, 248, have both called attention to the double nature of the function of the lance in the Grail stories.

Grail lance and the lance of Longinus which combines with its destructive characteristics others of mystic sanctity, than it is to show relationship between the Grail lance and the purely barbarous Celtic weapon of revenge. Nutt must have felt something of this difficulty when, speaking of the Celtic talismans, the vessel of plenty and the death-dealing spear, he said: "In so far as these objects could, before their Christian transformation, be charged with mysterious and awe-inspiring potency, in so far as these tales of magic strife could be invested with traditional sanctity, this was the case."[19]

Since the pagan coloring in the description of the bleeding lance in the Grail romances does not, therefore, in itself exclude connection with the Crucifixion relic, the real question to be considered is, how far other hypotheses serve to explain points not accounted for on the basis of Christian origin. Accordingly, it will be advisable to examine first of all the non-Christian interpretations which have been put forward.

I. *The Theory of Professor A. C. L. Brown*

§1. Celtic Marvellous Weapons and the Bleeding Lance

The most recent writer on the subject of Grail origins, begins his investigation with the bleeding lance. Professor Brown sees for the lance, at least as it appears in the romances of Crestien and Wolfram von Eschenbach, which he makes the earliest types of the Grail story, no possibility of any but a Celtic source. "That the lance of Longinus . . . could have given rise by any conceivable develop-

[19] Nutt, *The Legends of the Holy Grail*, 1902, p. 60.

ment to the bleeding lance of Chrétien and Wolfram is exceedingly improbable. . . . A popular, originally heathen, and doubtless Celtic tale has become partially Christianized and is gradually almost wholly ecclesiasticized."[20]

To narrow this claim of heathen origin to the Celtic field is unfortunate. Other heathen parallels can be adduced. The Celtic feeding vessel is now recognized as one manifestation of the wide-spread folk vessel of plenty.[21] The Celtic magic weapons like the Celtic feeding vessel, are not without parallel. There are other marvellous heathen weapons. The Celtic otherworld is also a manifestation of a wide-spread tradition; it finds its counterpart in Teutonic and Oriental mythology. Professor Brown emphasizes the similarity of the Grail lance and the Grail castle to the Celtic heroic weapons and the Celtic otherworld, however, without suggesting that these Celtic marvellous objects and places are not unique, and that such resemblance as exists may be extended also to non-Celtic corresponding objects and places.

Before considering these non-Celtic heathen kindred weapons,[22] it will be convenient to examine the Celtic spears themselves. Professor Brown finds his closest parallel to the bleeding lance of the Grail story in the *Luin* of Celtchar, forged probably by Goibniu the smith of the Tuatha Da Danaan, which he makes identical with the marvellous spear of King Cormac, called *Crimall* or "Bloody Spear," and also with "the venomed spear of Pezar, King of Persia, which Lugh obtained in an-

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

[21] Baist, *Parzival und der Gral*, 1909, p. 41, states that it is found in Celtic mythology as in every other. Cf. T. Sterzenbach, *Ursprung u. Entwicklung der Sage von heil. Gral*. Münster, 1908, p. 7.

[22] Cf. below p. 196 for non-Celtic otherworld.

ticipation of the Second Battle of Mag Tured," the name of which was *Slaughterer,* the blazing point of which "had to be kept in a great caldron of water."[23] Professor Brown is seeking a lance that is shining, poisonous, destructive, bleeding. He fails to find one that bleeds, but only a venomous spear that must be dipped in blood to quell its fury. It may almost be said that the spear of Celtchar or Lugh or Cormac is too marvellous to suggest relationship with the spear of the Grail procession, the most marvellous property of which—its bleeding—the Celtic spear, gory as it is, fails to reproduce. Another description of Lugh's spear,—Squire's,—gives it still other marvellous qualities: "He also had a magic spear, which unlike the rod sling, he had no need to wield himself; for it was alive, and thirsted so for blood that only by steeping its head in a sleeping draught of pounded poppy leaves could it be kept at rest. When battle was near it was drawn out; then it roared, and struggled against its thongs; fire flashed from it; and, once slipped from the leash, it tore through and through the ranks of the enemy never tired of slaying."[24] Indeed, Professor Brown himself adds to his enumeration of the magic characteristics of the Celtic weapon many which find no counterpart in the Grail spear: "Their weapons expanded like a rainbow, or had demons in them, so that they executed slaughter by themselves or testified against those who swore falsely by them; or they could foretell a battle, or relate all the former exploits of the spear or sword."[25]

Even if it were granted that the spear of the Grail romances is heathen, too many weapons with equally super-

[23] *Op. cit.,* p. 23.
[24] Charles Squire, *Myth. of the Brit. Isles,* p. 62.
[25] *Op. cit.,* p. 23.

natural qualities exist elsewhere to make the Celtic relationship inevitable. Fitzgerald explains this wonderful Irish spear or lance as the belt stars of Orion. Speaking of Cuchulainn's sword which "shone in the night like a candle," he argues that, "as these objects, sword, elbow-staff, belt, alternate in different versions of the same tale, it is fair to conclude that generally we have to deal with different conceptions of the one thing." "It occurs," he continues "as a sword or spear, with Nuada, Lug, Cu-Chulaind, Macha, Oengus, Cormac."[26] These Irish weapons Fitzgerald likens to the marvellous spear of Zeus, of Hermes, of Agamemnon,[27] and other masters, which the Chaeroneans honored above all gods and fed every day. This use of the spear as a symbol of destructive power is general.[28] The Romans worshipped a spear as the image of Mars. It moved of its own accord.[29] "The Scythians revered an iron sword and offered annual sacrifices of sheep and horses to it."[30] In Samoa war-clubs of renowned warriors were venerated. Blood-stained weapons were reverenced and it was believed that they brought success in battle.[31] The cult of the sword or lance was known also among the Germans. The lance of Tiw could slay of itself. It shone like the sun.[32] Another remarkable weapon is Tig Altesch, "l'epée foudroyante des quarante Solimans ou monarques universels de

[26] *Revue Celtique*, V, 199.

[27] Cf. also Roscher, *Lexicon*, who refers to priests and food offerings to the spear.

[28] R. P. Knight, *Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Myth*. pp. 95, 114. Cf. Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, Frazer, V, 211.

[29] Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s. v.* Mars.

[30] *Pausanias*, V, 211.

[31] *Ibid.*, V, 211.

[32] Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, III, 317.

la terre avant la creation d'Adam."[33] In ancient Mexico blood was offered in sacrifice to "sacred sticks" or staffs used as spears.[34] Reference to the Persian poison spear of Pisear is made by Professor Brown.

The qualities, then, that Professor Brown finds in his Celtic marvellous weapons are wide-spread. The cult of the spear existed not only in Ireland,[35] but everywhere among the ancients. The weapons thus regarded with superstitious veneration are variously shining like the sun, irresistible in battle, venomous, bloody. Reiffenberg discussing these "armes enchantées ou impénétrables," which, as he says, were used so frequently by the *trouvères*, traces their origin to several sources: Celtic sagas, Scandinavian invasions from the seventh to the tenth centuries, Greek and Roman influence, the relations of Europe with the Orient before and after the Crusades, chivalry, and universal human conceptions.[36]

The heathen lances just discussed—whether Celtic or classic—are wonderful enough, too wonderful in fact, to be used in the Grail romances without much modification. But why should Crestien, or his source, go so far afield for his lance of marvellous properties? It appears

33 Cf. *Chevalier au Cygne*, Reiffenberg, 1846, I, pp. cx-cxiv, for a long list of marvellous weapons with names and without. Cf. De la Warr B. Easter, *A Study of the Magic Elements in the Romans d'Aventure*, Baltimore, 1906. Swords and spears are included in the table of contents among objects with acquired magic properties—light, etc. Cf. also Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, I (ed. 1871), p. 43, for marvellous weapons that expel pestilence, allay winds, bring fruit, etc.—the fabled dart of Procris, Abaris. Cf. also an article on Fabled Spears, *Notes and Queries*, ser. 2, VII, 89.

34 *Pausanias*, V, 211, 212.

35 D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle Myth. Irlandais*, p. 188.

36 *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxix.

much simpler and far more plausible that he should take a lance already in his time made a center for the accretian of wonderful characteristics. The history of the spear of Longinus from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries shows that it appropriated to itself miraculous properties both Christian and heathen.[37] In doing so it followed the natural development of stories of saints and relics—a method too well understood to demand illustration here.[38]

§2. The Shining Lance and the Spear of Longinus.

That the lance of Longinus will supply the marvellous qualities of the bleeding lance of the Grail romances at least as well as Professor Brown's Celtic spear can be demonstrated, I think, by the traits it shows in mediæval literature outside of the Grail tradition and unaffected by it. Postponing for the present the consideration of the Grail procession as a whole, I shall here discuss only the characteristics of the lance, limiting myself to the

[37] Cf. above p. 56 ff.

[38] Cf. H. Gunter, *Legenden Studien*, Köln, 1906. De la Warr B. Easter, *op. cit.*, p. 32, in discussing church magic, calls attention to its frequent appearance in the Romances, and states that in the Middle Ages the Church opposed to the diabolic magic of the heathen its own celestial magic; consequently relics—external symbols of the Divine, or of saints—came to have independent power of sanctification. It may be added that when once this independence was obtained the relic would develop its own story independently of the legend to which it was originally attached. The lance of Longinus illustrates this fact. Easter, p. 39, gives an extreme illustration of the way marvellous properties were ascribed to religious objects. In *Raoul de Cambrai*, relics are found trembling and jumping upon fair green cloth spread upon the grass:

> 4948 Et les reliques fremir et sauteler
> De grant merveille li poist remembrer.

descriptions which appear in the earliest of the romances—those for which Professor Brown offers Celtic parallels and interpretations.

First to be noted is the whiteness or shining appearance of the lance described by Crestien and Wauchier. Several passages in which this characteristic is dwelt upon have already been pointed out by Professor Brown. He refers to the lines in Crestien's account:

4369 Uns varlés d'une cambre vint,
Qui *une blance lance* tint.

6035 Por coi cele gote de sanc
Saut par la pointe *del fer blanc*.[39]

To these passages may be added still another:

7749 Et, de cele goute de sanc
Que à la pointe del fer blanc.

In this characteristic of the Grail lance Professor Brown finds important evidence of its Celtic origin. "The whiteness of the lance," he remarks, "dwelt on by Chrétien here, connects the object with the fairy weapons of the Celts;"[40] and again, "The whiteness of the Bleeding Lance, on which both Chrétien and Wauchier lay stress, (as well as the dazzling brilliancy of the grail) is, therefore, significant and goes far by itself to prove that the talismans of the Grail Castle belong with the marvellous possessions of King Arthur, and have a like origin in Celtic legend."[41]

[39] *Op. cit.*, p. 7. In a foot-note Professor Brown refers also to Wauchier's account of the Grail Castle as given in the Montpellier MS and MS Bib. Nat. 12576.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 7, note 2.

[41] *Ibid.*, 32, 33.

It is singular that Professor Brown takes this quality of shining to be so exclusively Celtic that it *"goes far by itself to prove"* Celtic origin, when it is so general an accompaniment of Christian story. It is a common accessory in saints' legends. The angels who appear to them, the saints themselves, their relics, all shine.[42] The crucifixion relics, as might be expected, possess this quality:

—factum est talem signum quod omnes qui aderamus uidimus Magna autem coruscatio de loco inluxit ubi inuenta est sca crux clarior solis lumine et statim apparuerunt claui illi qui in dnico confixi fuerant corpore tamquam aurum fulgens in terra Ita ut omnes sine dubio credentes dicerent Nunc cognoscimus in quo credimus Duos accipiens cum magno timore optulit uenerabili Aelenae.[43]

In the tenth century sermon of Ælfric on the *Exaltation of the Cross*, in the account of Eraclius's bearing the cross back into Jerusalem, whence it had been taken by the heathen, marvels occur:

109 Waes eac oþer wundor swa þaet wynsum braeð
Stemde [of] þaere halgan rode þa þa heo hamwerd waes.
117 Fala þu scinende ród swiþor þonne tungla
Maere on middan-earde micclum to lufigenne.[44]

The lance, like the cross and the nails, has the quality of shining. It will be remembered that the account given of the lance in a *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (dating about 530) describes it as shining by night as the sun by

[42] See for full discussion and instances too numerous to cite here, H. Gunter, *Legenden Studien*, "Lichtglanz," pp. 4, 16, 18, 21, 29, 31f., 53, 54, 63, 66f., 71, 73, 93, 97, 99, 134f., 155.

[43] Holder, *Inventio Crucis*.

[44] Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, *EETS*., 94.

day.[45] The early date of this reference to the lance and its marvellous qualities makes it unusually interesting.

The same qualities moreover are found when the relics are described in the romances. In *Rouland and Vernagu,* Constantine shows Charlemagne the holy relics:

101 Þemperour his wil dede,
& ladde him to þe holy stede,
Þere þe relikes ware;
Þer com swiche a swete odour
Þat neuer ȝete so swete sauour.

Three hundred sick people were cured. Among other relics there were:

111 a parti of þe holy crosse
. . . . . .
119 & a spere long & smert,
Þat longys put to godes hert,
He gaf charls þe king;
& a nail long & gret
Þat was y-driue þurch godes fet
Wiþ outen ani lesing.

When Charles had received these gifts he prayed God for some proof of their authenticity, and—

Þan decended a liȝtnesse,
Doun riȝtes fram þe heuen blis,
In þat ich place,
Þat þai wenden alle y-wis,
Þai hadde ben in parodys,
So ful it was of grace.[46]

[45] See above, p. 57. This passage in the *Jerusalem Breviary* is not unknown to Prof. Brown, for he quotes it in a foot-note on page 12. But he fails to remark upon the similarity of this shining lance of Longinus and the lance of the Grail. Indeed, in this same footnote he denies that the lance of Longinus "had any particular resemblance to the spear of the Grail Castle."

[46] *EETS.*, e. s., 39, 40.

Supernatural light, then, as an accessory of the Grail lance, far from making Christian origin impossible, greatly strengthens such probability. The description of the lance of Longinus—*et lucet in nocte, sicut sol in virtute dei*—recalls definitely the light accompanying the Grail procession:

4404 Une si grans clartés i vint
Que si pierdirent les candoiles
Lor clarté, com font les estoiles
Quant li solaus liève ou la lune.

§3. The Bleeding Lance and the Spear of Longinus

How does the case stand as to the bleeding lance? Following again Crestien, Wauchier, and Wolfram, as the earliest versions, we find in Crestien:

4376 S'en ist une goute de sanc
Del fer de la lance el somet
Et jusqu'à la main au varlet
Couloit cele goute vermelle.

and again:

7539 . . . la lance dont li fers
Sainne tos jors, jà n'ert si ters
Del sanc tout cler qui ele pleure,
Si est escrit qu'il est une eure
Que tous li roiaumes de Logres
Dont jadis fu li tière al Ogres
Ert détruite par cele lance.

7746 Sire, ciés le roi Pescéour
Fui une fois et vi la lance
Dont li fiers saine sans doutance.

To one who knows the story of Longinus, the first of these citations sounds strikingly familiar. In almost every account of the spear-thrust, the blood runs down to the hand of the spearman. Of course, in the legend

the miraculous healing of the blindness of Longinus follows. Here only the blood on the lance is given.

In Wauchier's continuation the Grail lance is expressly identified as the relic of the Crucifixion:

20259 C'est la lance demainement
Dont li fius diu fu voirement
Férus très parmi le costé.

These lines, however, Professor Brown regards merely as a gloss added by Wauchier himself, who "allowed whole sections of his source, which must have been nearly or quite pagan, to remain unaltered, side by side with his later Christian explanations."[47] On the other hand, the description of the lance in Wauchier's narrative he finds to be "more barbaric than Chrétien's." The feature which Professor Brown has here in mind seems to be the excessive bloodiness of the description:

20151 Et puis si vit, en. I. hanstier,
Une lance forment sainier
Dedens une cope d'argent,
En cel vassiel fu droitment,
Toute fu sanglente environ,
Li sans couroit à grand randon
Del fier jusques à l'arestuel;
Par foi, mentir ne vos en voel,
En cel vassiel d'argent caoit,
Par. I. tuiel d'or en issoit
Puis ceurt parmi. I. calemel
D'argent, jà mais ne verez tel,
De la mervelle s'esbahit

Without stopping to discuss the fact that the blood is here carried by a tube,—the consideration of which will come later,—we note only that in Wauchier the bleeding is more emphasized than in Crestien, and that the lance is Christian.

47 *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

Wolfram's account adds little. The spear is not bleeding, but bloody. The *pluotec sper* is mentioned at l.21, p. 807, and again at l.30 f., p. 489:

> **Daz sper muos in die wunden sîn:**
> **Dâ half ein nôt für d'andern nôt:**
> **Da wart daz sper *bluotec rôt*.**

None of the properties of the lance of the Grail Castle, according to Professor Brown, "not even bleeding, are matched by the lance of Longinus."[48] He adds, curiously, that, "some of the later Grail romances, indeed, by explaining that the lance of Longinus *bled no more* after the time of Joseph of Arimathea, indicate that bleeding was not in accordance with the tradition generally current concerning the relic of the crucifixion." This, on the contrary, seems to me clearly to imply that bleeding had been connected with the Christian lance. It is not surprising that this should be the case. Miraculous bleeding connected with the crucifixion is an early Christian conception, like the quality of shining in which Professor Brown finds only heathen reminder. The bleeding, however, unlike the shining, is used in two apparently contrary ways: it represents on the one hand destruction and judgment and is made a symbol of terror; on the other, it betokens new life, since the Church comes from the wound in the side of Christ,[49] and since the blood, the life of Christ, becomes the regenerating food of men.

The first of these symbolical uses is the one emphasized by Professor Brown. In the bleeding lance he sees merely

[48] *Op. cit.*, 17.

[49] See above, pp. 11, 12.

an "extravagantly destructive" venomous implement.[50] And these qualities he conceives to be "altogether antagonistic to the Longinus legend, but in conformity with pagan story." Accordingly he turns for the source of the bleeding lance to Celtic literature. In Welsh and Irish mythology he finds, it is true, the *Luin* of Celtchar=the *Slaughterer* of Lugh=the *Crimall* (Bloody Spear of Cormac, a destructive, venomous, flaming spear, which must be dipped in blood to quench its fury).[51]

Professor Brown's chief objection to the lance of Longinus is, that it lacks the property of bleeding which usually belongs to the Grail lance: "No pseudo-gospel or legend of the time before Chrétien mentions bleeding among the miraculous attributes of the Christian lance."[52] This objection, however, applies equally to the Celtic spears brought forward by Professor Brown. The Luin of Celtchar is "held point downward over a caldron of blood into which it is ever and anon plunged—a circumstance that *might* develop into the idea of a lance bleeding into a vessel."[53] "It *seems* to be identical with the marvellous spear of King Cormac, which was called the *Crimall* or 'Bloody Spear.' *Perhaps* therefore bleeding was in Irish tradition an attribute of the Luin. The ancient Irish indeed attributed almost every kind of miraculous and extraordinary property to their lances

[50] Unlike Nutt, it is to be noted, who works also on the Celtic hypothesis. Cf. also *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 112; and Nitze, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXV, 248.

[51] Here the dipping in blood may be the Irish way of stating that blood sacrifices were made to the weapons of heroes. Fitzgerald, it will be remembered, compared the Irish spears with the weapons, famous in cult, of Agememnon and Mars, to which such offerings were made.

[52] *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

and swords [except—we may add on Professor Brown's own admission—that of bleeding]."[54] Finally, Professor Brown even proceeds to suggest reasons why the Irish spears did *not* bleed: "If bleeding were not often made prominent by the ancient Irish among the properties of their weapons, this may well have been because they were chiefly interested in other more exaggerated and more marvellous qualities. Had bleeding been made the main attribute of a lance in ancient Irish, we may be sure that it would have bled, like the lance of Wauchier, in so exaggerated a way that spout and conduit would be needed to carry off the blood."[55] This, it may be granted, is what one would expect to find *if bleeding lances had been known to Irish tradition.* The fact, therefore, that Professor Brown is unable to discover in ancient Welsh or Irish literature a single well attested instance of a lance which bleeds becomes the more significant.

To return now to the lance of Christian tradition, it will be remembered that in the legend it is usually represented streaming with blood. Indeed, so general is this representation of it in mediæval literature, quite outside Grail influence, that it would be entirely natural for it to be called a bloody spear. The property certainly seems much more to belong to the lance of Longinus than to the *Luin* of Celtchar dipped in a caldron of blood.

The following quotations are all directly connected with the legend of Longinus even when his name does not appear in the lines:

> Et de la lance vos feri el coste
> Le sanc et l'eve l'eu a as poinz colé
>
> *Guillaume D'Orange*, vv. 767, 768.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 23. The italics are mine.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Et li sans et li aigue, si com je l'ai apris
Li coula jusqu'aus puins—*La Chanson D'Antioche*,[56]
vv. 325, 326.

Et Longis vous feri de la lance à bandon
. . . . . .
Li sans li vint par l'anste jusqu'aus poins, de randon
Ibid., vv. 687, 689.

Le sang et l'eve en fist ruceler;
Aval la lance commenza devaler,
Jusqu'a ses poigns ne se voulat arester
Roman d'Aquin,[57] ll. 195 ff.

Longins li grans le feri a bandon;
Son blanc coste li parcha contremont,
Et sanc et eve en issi de randon
Dus qu'à ses poins n'i fist arestison.
Le Chevalerie Ogier,[58] ll. 248 ff.

With lines 250-1 above, compare the "barbaric" description found in Wauchier, ll. 20156-7:

Li sans couroit *à grand randon*
Del fier jusques à l'aresteul.

Also compare *"jusque à ses poigns"* in the above with Crestien, l. 4378: *"Et jusquà la main au varlet."*

When to the above we add a passage describing the wounding of Christ in the *Roman de la Violette*—which, it is to be remembered, is by Gerbert—ll. 5292 ff.:

Desci au cuer, que li clers sans
Fu aval la lanche coulans
Dusc'à ses mains—

it looks almost as if there were a more or less stereotyped description of the blood running down the lance to the

[56] The beginning of the twelfth century.
[57] Twelfth century; cf. Grober, *Grundriss*, p. 542.
[58] Twelfth century; cf. Grober, *Grundriss*, p. 546.

hands of Longinus. It might almost be conjectured that the Grail writer knew and used this stereotyped form. That the passage should be so nearly reproduced in the description of the Grail lance is assuredly a remarkable coincidence if it is nothing more. At all events the similarity between the lance of Longinus and the Grail lance is here much closer than any yet pointed out between the Grail spear and the *Luin* of Celtchar.

The lance, it is seen, is in literature generally bloody. Professor Golther believes that Crestien in making the lance bleed took this trait over from other bleeding relics. Crestien, though using the sacred objects commonly employed in the Greek mass—candles, chalice, paten, lance, and other relics,—according to Golther, disposed them differently. He showed the blood of Christ dripping from the spear,[59] used the Grail (usually the chalice, the holder of blood) for the host, and so found the paten (usually the bread plate), superfluous. The implication is of course that Crestien thought the blood of Christ, seen on the very instrument with which it was shed,

[59] Professor Golther's conjecture that Crestien made the lance take the place of the chalice or grail as bearer of the blood in the Grail procession finds support in the *Dispute Between Mary and the Cross* (*EETS.*, 46, 136-137) where the *cross* itself is spoken of as *a platter bearing sacrificial food*. That the eucharist is meant is made evident by the reference in the next stanza to the eating of the flesh in "godes hous." The Cross speaks:—

1.166 "I bar flesch for folkes feste;
Ihesu Christ vre saueour
He fedeþ boþe lest and meste,
Rosted aȝeyn þe sonne.
On me lay þe lomb of loue
I was plater his bodi a-boue,
Til feet and hondes al-to cloue,
Wiþ blood I was bi-ronne."

would be a more potent reminder than the farther removed, less directly connected, blood in the Grail or chalice.

Golther's suggestion is both illuminating and adequate, whether taken æsthetically or dogmatically. Such a transfer of the property of bleeding from cross to spear would not be difficult. The fortunes of the cross and the spear are more or less bound up together in mediæval literature;[60] and if the lance does not bleed, it is sufficiently bloody to make a transfer of this kind from one passion relic to another easy.

Bleeding was associated with the cross from early times. Note this passage from the *Christ:*

1084 Usses Dryhtnes rod onsweard stondeð,
bēacna beorhtast, blode bistēmed
Heofoncyninges, hlutran dreore
bisēon mid swāte, þaet ofer sīde gesceaft
Scīre scīneð.

Professor Cook in commenting on this passage says: "the cross towers like the mythic Ygdrasil dripping with blood, but flooding the whole world with a blaze like sunlight."[61] The lines from the *Christ* Professor Cook compares with the *Dream of the Rood,* l.48: "Eall ic waes mid blode bestemed, / begoten of þaes Guman sidan." "This conception," he remarks, "of the blood-stained cross is at least as early as Paulinus of Nola, who writes (*Epist.* 32, cap. 14):

Ardua floriferae crux cingitur orbe coronae,
Et *Domini fuso tincta cruore* rubet.

60 Cf. various Complaints of Mary, Meditations on the Hours, etc.

61 *Christ of Cynewulf,* p. xliv.

And again (cap. 17):

> Inter floriferi Coeleste nemus Paradisi.
> Sub *cruce sanguinea* niveo stat Christus in agris."[61]

Among other marvels that accompanied the discovery of the true cross by Saint Helena,—

> Hit was talde of mani man
> At a licour þer-of ranne,
> þat wiþ betinge was bote of bale,
> And sekenes diuers to make ham hale
> A vessel þat hit ware noȝt tint,
> Stode vnder · þat licour for to hint,
> for to dele vn-to þe vnfere,
> to sende ouer al þe cuntree sere.[62]

§4. The Poisonous and Destructive Lance and the Spear of Longinus

Poisonous and destructive properties have also been associated, at least occasionally, with the spear of the crucifixion. Deguilleville in his *Pelerinage de Vie Humaine* represents Envy with two spears coming from her eyes. One of them is the spear of Longinus, which is described as follows:

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[62] *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 21618-21626; also printed by Morris from Fairfax MS. 14, *EETS.*, 46, 115. Significant is the bleeding of the tree from which Adam and Eve ate the apple, identified with the cross of the crucifixion (cf. *EETS.*, 46, Introd. by Morris). It bleeds when approached by the sinful (Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 378):

> When any synfull come here-ine,
> As þou seyst, shyld, with me,
> For vengawnce of þat cursyd synne
> The blode rynneth oute of þis tre.

8307 De l'autrë ot li roi Jhesu
Le coste percie et fendu
Plus mal li fist le moquement
Que les Juïs de son tourment
Avoient que le fer ne fist
Que Longis u coste li mist
Ces glaives sont enracinez
En mon cuer parfont et plantez,
Mes par mes iex ont (leur) issue
Pour (moi) faire beste cornue,
Pour moi faire venin getter
Par les iex pour envenimer
Mes voisins par un suel regart
Sans laissier disme ne champart.[63]

The spear is made venomous, though expressly identified as the crucifixion relic. The connection, it is true, is made in a symbolic way, and Deguilleville was perhaps somewhat influenced by Grail imagery.[64] The significant point lies in the fact that Deguilleville did not feel such qualities as those here mentioned to be antagonistic to his definitely Christian purpose, nor did Lydgate, who followed him. Not less interesting is the confusion of the flaming sword of the cherubim with the crucifixion relic,—due entirely in this instance to Lydgate:

472 Whos swerd was bloudyd with the blood
Off Crystys holy passyon
When he made our Redempcion,
Mankynd to restore a-gayn.
The wych wey, whan I hadde seyn,
I was a-stonyd i my syht.
But I was coumfortyd a-noon Ryht,
Whan I sawh the swerd mad blont

[63] *Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine.* Roxburghe Club, 1893; cf. Lydgate's translation of this passage, *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, *EETS.*, pp. 402-3.

[64] The present writer hopes soon to publish the results of an inquiry into the possible influence of the Grail legend on the *Pelerinage de Vie Humaine.*

> Off cherubin, the wych was wont.
> To brenne as any flawmbe bryht.
> But now, the sharpnesse & the lyht
> Was queynte, to do no more vengaunce,
> By vertu off Crystys gret suffraunce.[65]

For the present purpose this confusion makes no difference. It has been said that the sacred spear acquired the marvellous qualities of other weapons. The result of the fusion in this case is to bring together several of the properties Professor Brown is seeking for the Grail lance. This Christian weapon here used as a reminder of the crucifixion, is bloody, flaming, and unquestionably an instrument of vengeance.

Though Deguilleville and Lydgate are too late to be of value in the matter of Grail origins, these citations nevertheless indicate that poisonous and destructive properties are not necessarily incompatible with the spear of Longinus.

§5. The Christian Spear a Symbol of Destruction and of Peace

As already remarked, Professor Brown, in the opinion of the present writer, emphasizes too exclusively the destructive significance of the lance in the Grail procession. It has also another meaning—it is the symbol of peace and new life. Indeed, Professor Brown mainly depends for evidence of the destructive powers of the lance upon a passage in the Mons MS. which states that a blow from the lance will destroy the land of Logres. This unsupported passage, however, hardly seems sufficient, espe-

[65] *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man.* Englisht by Jno. Lydgate, *EETS.*, e. s., 77, 13; cf. ll. 63 ff.

cially since the Montpellier MS reading for the same passage is exactly the opposite:

7358 Et messire Gauwains s'en alle
Querre la lance dont li fers
Sainne tos jors, jà n'ert si ters
Del sanc tout cler que ele pleure
[Montpellier] Einsi est escrit en l'ameure
La pés sera par ceste lance.

Clearly here is a choice of properties which may well argue the existence of two traditions. If the lance referred to is the Christian relic, the two characteristics do exist side by side.[66] A bit of Christian writing, likewise interesting on another account, illustrates the belief in the double nature of the crucifixion spear. In a fourteenth century *Meditacion of þe fyue woundes,* it is said of the wound in the side:

Out of þe largeste and deppeste welle of euere-lastyng lif in þe moste opene wounde in Christys blessed syde, cleech vp deppest and hertyliest watir of joye and blisse withouten eende, biholdyng þeere inwardly how Crist Ihesu god and man, to bringe þee to euerlastynge lyf, suffrede þat harde and hydous deeth on þe cros and suffrede his syde to be opened and hym-self to be stonegyn to þe herte with þat *grisly spere,* and so with þat *deelful strook* of þe spere þeere gulchide out of Cristys syde þat blysful floode of watir and blood to raunsone vs, water of his syde to wasshe vs, and blood of his herte to bugge vs. For loue of þise blessede woundes creep in to þis hoot baaþ of Crystys herte-blood, and þeer bathe þee; ffor þeer was neuer synne of man ne of womman þouȝt ne wrouȝt þat was laft with louely sorrowe and hertly

[66] L. E. Iselin, whose study, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende,* 1909, I have been able to examine only since the completion of my own work, confirms this view. Cf. pp. 115-116. "Es bestand also, wie wir sehen, in der Poesie wie in der Legenden-literatur eine mystische Redeweise, dass dieselbe Lanze tötet und Leben gibt, verwundet und Heil bringt, dass eine Lanze des Paradies verschliesst und eine Lanze das Paradies öffnet."

repentaunce, þat þeer ne ys in þis welle fully remyssion to buggen it, and watir of lyf fully to clensen it and wasshen it.[67]

Professor Brown devotes half of his study to the story of *Balin and the Dolorous Stroke*, which he believes explains the cause of the wound in the thighs of the Grail King.[68] Professor Golther takes the Grail King to be Christ himself wounded in the side by the spear-thrust of Longinus. Discussion of this point will come later. Suffice it to note that an account quite unrelated to the Grail story makes the spear *grisly*, and the spear-thrust that deprived Christ of life a *deelful strook*. It shows, too, how to the mystic mediæval mind the deed could be at once both wicked and blessed, destructive and regenerative.

§6. The Bleeding Lance in Art and in the Drama

It is clear, then, that more can be accounted for by Christian tradition than Professor Brown has recognized. In connection with the question of the source of the bleeding spear used by the writers of the Grail romances, it will be well to recall the importance of the spear of the crucifixion in art. It was shown everywhere—in manuscripts, on crosses, in churches, with the blood gushing from its point and running down its shaft. Many of these illustrations were so early that they must have been familiar to Crestien and his predecessors.

Another possible influence may also be noted. As early as the twelfth century Longinus was seen on the stage

[67] Printed by Horstmann among works wrongly attributed to R. Rolle, from MS Univ. Coll. 97, *R. Rolle*, II, 441.

[68] This part of Prof. Brown's study can not be considered here. Nutt (*Acad.* May 7, 1910, 440) was not convinced that he had made his point.

in the religious drama. According to the stage directions, and the texts of these early plays, the lance must have been shown as bleeding. Notice the stage directions in the twelfth century Anglo-Norman play of the *Resurrection du Sauveur:* "Il prist la lance; ci l'feri al quer, dunt sanc e ewe en issi. Si li est as mainz avalé."[69] Compare with this the account in *La Passione e Risurrezione:*

> Et un de li cavaleri longi ke fo hom de gran statura
> Lo lao de Cristo fora cum la lança forta e agua
> Undo g ensi aigua e sango per figura, etc.[70]

Similar is the stage direction in the *Saint Galler Passionsspiel:* "Cum fixerit eum et sanguis lanceâ descendens tangat oculos, videbit et dicat."[71] The same direction is found in the Ancient Cornish Passion: "Tunc fluat sanguis super lancea usque ad manus longii militis et tunc tergit oculos et uidebit et dicit."[72] It is hardly necessary to cite other instances. The stage directions are explicit and clearly indicate that, by some contrivance, blood streamed down the lance. It is to be remarked that Crestien and his contemporaries probably saw these plays produced, and beheld the lance bleeding realistically before their eyes. With the Christian lance so obviously and suitably at hand, in literature which as writers of romances themselves they must have known, in art productions which they must have seen, and in the drama with which they must have been familiar, why should the Grail romancers seek a bleeding lance in the *Luin* of Celtchar, which after all does not bleed?

Representing as they do the most extreme position of Celtic interpreters of the Grail problem, the views of

69 Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre Français au Moyen Age.* 14.
70 Thirteenth century, *Studj. di Filologia,* I, 260.
71 Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters,* I, 121.
72 Cf. above, p. 138.

Professor Brown have been thus fully dealt with in order to show that even demands which recognize in the Grail spear none but apparently heathen qualities may be met by Christian explanation.[73]

II. *The Theories of Professor Nitze and Miss Weston*

§1. Professor Nitze and the Celtic Theory

Professor Nitze explains the Grail rite on the basis of agrarian cult and illustrates by the Eleusinian mysteries.[74] He still clings, however, with one hand to Celtic origin for the Grail legend and wherever it is possible adduces Celtic parallels—his general theory being that such agrarian ritual customs were wide-spread and that the Grail story may very probably be the result of Celtic use of these conceptions. Indeed, so ready is Professor Nitze to support the idea of Celtic mediation that in some cases where the Oriental usage, which he is here generally emphasizing, explains the matter he is discussing, he forsakes it for the less definitely related Celtic illustration. For example, though in his discussion of the Fisher-King and his "double" he makes use of Osiris and Adonis, in his reference to the shape-shifting of the Fisher-King, he calls attention to the fact that in this re-

[73] It will not be necessary to discuss in detail the opinion of Hagen, who makes the Grail lance a symbol of vengeance and of peace, nor that of Wesselofsky, to whom it is a spear that wounds and heals, for the reason that neither of these views is opposed to the Christian spear, which, as has been shown in the preceding discussion, combines these antagonistic qualities. L. von Schroeder's study, *Wurzeln der Gralsage*, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, 1910, was called to my attention too late to be considered.

[74] Miss Weston first definitely considered such relationship. *Folk-Lore*, XVIII, (1907), 283-305.

spect the Fisher-King is like Manannan mac Lir, the great shape-shifter of the Irish.[75] The Irish hero, an otherworld being, also "supplies ale which preserves from death and old age." Such departure from the Oriental illustrative material is unnecessary. These attributes are found in Oriental conceptions of the underworld; shape-shifting is general,[76] and the descriptions of the place are not unlike those of the Celtic otherworld in that it is reached with difficulty, and in the palace there is to be found food of immortality, water of life.[77] In one respect this Oriental underworld is of far more interest to the Grail student than is the Celtic. Though, like the Celtic, it is without definite name, one of its epithets significantly enough means "to ask." I quote Professor Jastrow's discussion of the name: "A third name for the netherworld which conveys an important addition to the views held regarding the dead, was Shuâlu. . . . The priests appear to avoid the names for the netherworld, which were of ill omen, and preferred to describe the place by some epithet, as 'land without return,' or 'dark dwelling,' or 'great city,' and the like. . . . The stem underlying Shuâlu signifies 'to ask.' Shuâlu is a place of inquiry, and the inquiry meant is of the nature of a religious oracle. The name, accordingly, is an indication of the power accorded to the dead, to aid the living by furnishing them with answers to questions."[78]

Shuâlu then certainly offers in this respect a closer resemblance to the Grail Castle, also a place of inquiry,

[75] *PMLA.*, XXIV, 396, 397.

[76] A. Wiedermann, *Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Ägypter*, p. 13.

[77] A. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, pp. 14, 15, 16, 22.

[78] *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 558, 559.

than does the Celtic otherworld. This point will be considered more fully later.

§2. Agrarian Rites as an Explanation of the Grail Ceremony

Professor Nitze's chief interest in this study is not, however, with Celtic relationships. His position he states clearly: "The Holy Grail, by the mediæval romancers often conceived in terms of a quest, is *au fond* an initiation, the purpose of which is to insure the life of the vegetation spirit, always in danger of extinction, and to admit the 'qualified' mortal into its mystery. I do not believe we can go far wrong in insisting on both its agrarian and its mystic features. . . . Like the Elusinia, the Grail rites may have been agrarian and mystic from the start. At all events, no positive distinction is to be made."[79] According to Professor Nitze's analysis, the "Grail theme contains three essential figures and three important symbols."[80] The figures are: the Fisher-King, the Grail knight, and the Fisher-King's father or "double." For the Fisher-King Mr. Nitze finds it difficult to obtain any one explanatory term. He calls him "an intermediary between the two planes of existence;" "the symbol of creative force in nature," especially moisture; "the guide to the other world."[81] The Grail Knight is the initiate.[82] The Fisher-King's father or "double" is the life-god himself.[83] The three symbols are: the Grail, which he equates with the κίστη or Holy Box of

79 *PMLA.*, XXIV, 394.
80 *Ibid.*, 395.
81 *Ibid.*, 395.
82 *Ibid.*, 398.
83 *Ibid.*, 398.

the Mysteries, "the receptacle for the divine food (wafer or blood) by partaking of which the mortal establishes a blood-bond with the god;"[84] the Lance, "the weapon with which the Deity's strength has been impaired, . . . the instrument of sacrifice;"[85] the Sword, the folk-lore Sword of Light.[86]

Admitting at the outset that the agrarian rites are in large measure the counterpart of the Grail rites, Miss Weston goes much farther, emphasizing the mystic as the more important features of the resemblance. "This, then," she summarizes, "is my view of the intricate problem of the Grail romances. It started from the standpoint of instruction in the Nature, and Sources, of Life, in all its manifestations, the outward and popular form of such instructions being embodied in the rites familiar to scholars as connected with Vegetation. This teaching, which had been discouraged and displaced by Christianity boldly identified itself with its victorious rival, on the outward basis of the reverence paid to the *Saint Sang.*"[87]

Miss Weston holds that "the 'Adonis' rites, as fitly represented, had a triple character; there was the external ritual, setting forth in objective parable the natural processes of Vegetation, understood and shared by all; and there was secret teaching, probably ritual, of a twofold character, Phallic and Philosophic; in both these instances tests were required from the aspirant, physical tests probably in the first case, a severe mental training in the second."[88] Following out this idea, she finds

[84] *Ibid.*, 400.
[85] *Ibid.*, 404.
[86] *Ibid.*, 406.
[87] *Perceval*, II, 285.
[88] *Ibid.*, 256.

"there was not one vessel, but three, or rather one vessel in three aspects, depending upon the plane on which the instruction was given." She takes the middle plane, that of Humanity, or Actuality, to be the one on which the external rites were celebrated, and would represent this by the Feeding Vessel. The plane below is represented by the "Cup with its companion symbol the Lance, from which it received the Blood, the source of animal life." The plane above is represented by the "*'Holy'* Grail, the ultimate source of Spiritual, undying, Life, invisible under normal conditions—the vision is vouchsafed as the reward of severe testing."[89] "Each stage," according to Miss Weston, "has its Guardian." The Fisher-King, she makes the vital principle, the Guardian of the *'Holy'* Grail. The 'Maimed King' is the Fisher-King restrained and hampered by the Flesh, the Guardian of the *Rich* Grail. The "Guardian on the third, the Phallic, plane," she adds, "can hardly be other than the mysterious third brother retained only in the *Perlesvaus,* 'the King of the Chastel Morteil (the Body?) in whom was as much of evil as in the other two of good."[90]

Professor Nitze, is here, it will be seen, much more cautious than Miss Weston. The lance in Professor Nitze's scheme, being the symbol of sacrifice, possesses far greater importance than it has for Miss Weston, who regards it as a phallic symbol appearing only on the lowest plane, the exoteric rites of the Grail. Since it is manifestly impossible at this point to separate the question of the lance of the agrarian cult from the general interpretation of which it is a part, specific consideration of its functions must be postponed.

[89] *Ibid.*, 257, 258.
[90] *Ibid.*, 259, 260.

§3. Connection Between Early Liturgy and Rites of the Mysteries

Professor Nitze and Miss Weston are, I think, right in affirming the fundamental similarity of the Grail rites and the agrarian cult. There may also be ground for the additional suggestion made by Professor Nitze that these rites have passed through Celtic hands. At almost every point, however, the question arises, whether the particular matter under discussion cannot as well be explained by Christian custom. This being the case, an interpretation that disregards entirely the possibility of early Christian influence cannot be accepted without question. Especially is this the case at a time when investigators of the origins of Christianity, both within and without the Church, agree that there is close relationship between these early mysteries and early Christian rites.

Professor Nitze himself recognizes the possible connection between the mysteries he is describing and the early liturgy. "I do not wish to imply," he remarks, "that the Eucharist and the Grail ceremony may not go back to similar primitive rites."[91] That these early mysteries are related in some way to the ceremonies and belief of the early church is now very generally accepted. "The rise of the church," says Glover, "was accompanied by the rise of mysteries." "That such ideas," he explains, "should emerge in the Christian community is natural enough, when we consider its environ-

91 *Op. cit.*, p. 372. Cf. Miss Weston, *Perceval*, II, 293, "Christianity, too, had its Mysteries, and those Mysteries were in aim and practice analogous to the greater Mysteries of India and Egypt." Cf. also Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI, 115, 117.

ment—a world without natural science, steeped in belief in every kind of magic and enchantment, and full of public and private religious societies, every one of which had its mysteries and miracles and its blood bond with its peculiar deity. It was from such a world and such societies that most of the converts came and brought with them the thoughts and instincts of countless generations, who had never conceived of a religion without rites and mysteries."[92]

Farnell calls attention to the "deep indebtedness of Christianity in respect of ritual, organization, and even religious concept to the Eleusinian Mysteries and other mystic societies of Greek lands. . . . The religious affinities discoverable between the earlier and later 'Mediterranean' systems," he remarks, "may be classified according as they appear in the legends, in nomenclature and terminology, in external symbols and liturgical objects, in hieratic institutions, and finally in the ideas, aspirations, and concepts of faith."[93]

Wernle's testimony is still more important for the present purpose. He attempts to show that Jesus himself established no mysterious cult, that from the very first he courted publicity, but he adds that the persecution of the Jewish Church and afterwards of the Roman government "made of Christianity a sect that shunned the light." The rise of Gnosticism, according to Wernle, caused a number of small sects to appear, and these fell irrevocably under the influence of the mysteries, cultivating as they did, in common with the mysteries, an esoteric doctrine. In winning the victory over Gnosticism, Wernle explains, the Christian teachers adopted in

[92] *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, 1909, pp. 158, 159.

[93] *The Evolution of Religion*, 1905, pp. 22 ff.

many respects the opinions of their opponents. The sacraments show this influence of the mysteries most strongly. Baptism and the Lord's Supper become "mysterious initiatory rites," and "sacramental apparatus becomes ever more and more complicated through competition with other sacraments." He comments on the fact that Ignatius with "perfect outspokenness calls the Lord's Supper a 'magic rite.' "[94]

It would be possible to adduce a great deal more evidence on this point. Everyone who deals with the beginnings of religions calls attention to such resemblances. It is hardly necessary to note that many Christian festivals are definitely traceable to more primitive religions. Christmas, Easter, the Assumption of the Virgin, to mention only a few, apparently superseded earlier heathen feasts.

Accordingly, where, as in the case of the Grail, so much reason appears for believing a legend to be of Christian origin, the presence of traces of earlier heathen ritual will hardly make Christian derivation impossible. To put such obligation out of the question, one would be compelled to show that these antecedent heathen customs were not taken over by the Church as so many similar customs assuredly were. This it would be difficult to do. The points Professor Nitze explains by analogies drawn from the early mysteries may in many cases be more satisfactorily accounted for by the early liturgy. Even the 'heterodox tinge' is less striking if the comparison be made, not with church usages of later times, but with those that found place in the early Church ritual when it was least remote from the corresponding ritualistic customs of the Mediterranean.

[94] P. Wernle, *The Beginning of Christianity* (trans. by Rev. G. A. Bienemann), II, 123 ff.

§4. Elements Common to Grail Rites, Mysteries, and Liturgy

There are few elements common to the Grail rites and to the mysteries that do not occur also in the liturgy or in early Christian legend. Mr. Nitze, in defining the purpose of the mysteries, states that "they induce through a sacrificial feast the fructification of nature," and they "initiate the human soul into the secret of life by bringing it, as it were, into relationship with the life deity."[95] The second of these purposes is fundamental in all primitive rites. Brinton calls attention to the similarity of these to the Christian eucharist. "Traces of human sacrifice are discovered in the early history of even the noblest religions, and the rite extended so widely that scarce a cult can be named in which it did not exist. . . . The idea of atonement in the piacular sacrifice is in reality that of being *one with the god,* that of entering into union or communion with him. This, indeed, lies largely at the base of all the forms of ritualistic worship."[96]

Though in the Christian liturgy there is little left to remind one of the first of the purposes mentioned by Mr. Nitze—"the fructification of nature"—the date of the celebration of Easter coincides with that of the Mediterranean nature rites.[97] Moreover, the idea of the death of vegetation as a result of the death of the Lord, does occur in Christian legend and must ultimately be traceable to the vegetation myth. I refer to the ancient and

[95] *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

[96] *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 1899, p. 189.

[97] Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, p. 198, for discussion of this coincidence.

well-known legend of the Dry Tree, for which one may turn conveniently to the account given by Mandeville in his description of the valley of Mambre: "And there is a Tree of Oke, that the Sarazines clepen Dirpe, that is of Abrahames tyme, the whiche Men clepen the drye Tree—and they seye that it hathe ben there sithe the beginnynge of the World; and was sumtyme grene, and bare Leves, unto the tyme that oure Lord dyede on the Cros; and thanne it dryede; and so dyden alle the Trees, that weren thanne in the World. And summe seyn be here Prophecyen, that a Lord, a Prynce of the West syde of the World shall wynnen the Lond of Promyssioun, that is the Holy Lond, withe helpe of Cristene Men; and he schalle do synge a Masse undir that drye Tree, and than the Tree schalle wexen grene and bere bothe Fruyt and Leves."[98] This last sentence suggests that the mass under the tree replaced an old vegetation ceremony under the tree, where the victim or his symbol was sacrificed.[99] When we remember that in the Oriental mass the wafer was treated in all respects like a sacrifice, stabbed with a lance, the suggestion becomes more significant.

The fish, which Professor Nitze notes was the symbol of Adonis, and represented the life principle, early became associated with Christ. Dr. Eisler seeks "to reconcile the fact that although the Eucharist was primarily a vegetable sacrifice intended to supersede the animal sacrifice of scriptural Judaism, there yet occurred in the Eucharistic tradition constant allusions to (1) the fish and (2) the lamb." He explains the fish "on the ground

[98] *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville*, London, 1866, pp. 68, 69.

[99] Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, p. 186.

that Christ found at Bethsaida . . . a local pagan cult of the widely spread fish-god, availed himself of it, and spiritualized it by means of an etymological coincidence between *lchem*, bread, *luhm*, fish, and *luhm*, breath or spirit."[100]

"The sacred procession," Mr. Nitze tells us, "also brought the initiate into relationship with the deity—but through the avenue of sight. This was the act whereby the hierophant revealed to him the sacred objects. Apparently they were taken out of the μέγαρον, into which the hierophant alone could enter, and, their covers being removed, they appeared to the *mystae* in brilliant illumination. What they were is not known, yet it seems probable that among them were legendary relics, 'such,' says Farnell, 'as would cause a religious tremor in the spectator.'"[101]

The sacred procession is of course paralleled in the liturgy. Since we do not know what relics were carried in the Eleusinian mysteries, the connection in this instance seems much more tangible between the Grail rites and those of the Church. Of the sacred objects borne in the Grail procession of the talismans, the Grail lance, plates, cross, all are found in the *introitus*.

The "Holy Box" of the mysteries finds its counterpart as a receptacle containing the divine food in the chalice or paten of the mass. And the lance, which Professor Nitze makes an instrument of sacrifice which "impairs life only in order to sustain it elsewhere," is clearly not different from the crucifixion relic, which, as has been pointed out, possesses exactly these characteristics.

[100] *Transactions of the Third International Congress of Religions*, II. 352.

[101] *Op. cit.*, p. 388.

Much that is apparently heathen in the Grail legend was, I do not doubt, Christian by adoption at the time the story took its rise. It is evident that much confusion exists between early Christian tradition and antecedent heathen custom and belief.[102] It has been shown that the holy lance, originally a Christian relic, enriched itself by accretions from many sources. Somewhat the same thing took place in symbolism connected with Jesus himself. The Fécamp story of the sacred blood, as Professor Nitze has pointed out, finds close parallel in the vegetation myth of Osiris.[103] It is to be noted that the sycamore which, as Professor Nitze says, was sacred to Osiris and from which the Egyptians carved his image, is also, in the Greek Physiologus, identified with Christ. After the spear thrust, blood and water flow from the side of Christ, just as, after it is cut with the knife, sap flows from the sycamore. The Crucified after three days rises; the sycamore three days after it is cut becomes food for all. Here also is a transference of vegetation symbolism to the life of Christ.[104]

III. *The Grail Rite*

§1. The Grail Procession

Up to this point the lance of the Grail Castle has been the center of interest. The lance, however, is of signifi-

[102] It has been noted in this study (pp. 72 ff.) that heathen ancient charms and spells against evil spirits and disease were adopted by the Church and slightly Christianized. It is hardly worth citing what has been often remarked that in art Isis and the young Horus formed the model for the Virgin and Child, and that the wounded Attis and Venus were by easy transfer made the Christian *Pieta*.

[103] *Op. cit.*, pp. 402, 403.

[104] Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, pp. 37, 38.

cance only as one of the objects borne in the Grail procession, and this procession again is of importance only as part of the rite. How much of the account of Perceval's experience in the Grail Castle may be explained as Christian? Crestien's description of the procession reads as follows:

Uns varles d'une cambre vint,
Qui une blance lance tint,
Enpoignie par emmi leu;
Si passa par entre le feu
Et cil ki sor le lit séoient,
Et tout cil ki laiens estoient
Virent la lance est le fer blanc:
S'en ist une goute de sanc
Del fer de la lance el somet,
Et jusqu'à la main au varlet,
Couloit cele goute vermelle
. . . . . .
Atant dui varlet à lui vinrent,
Qui candelers en lor mains tinrent
De fin or ouvret à chisiel;
Li varlet estoient moult biel
Qui les candelers aportoient
En cascun candelles ardoient
X. candoiles a tout les mains.
Un graal entre ses II. mains
Une damoisièle tenoit,
Qui avoec les varlés venoit,
Bièle, gente et acesmée;
Quant ele fu laiens entrée
Atout le graal qu'ele tint,
Une si grans clartés i vint
Que si pierdirent les candoiles
Lor clarté, com font les estoiles
Quant li solaus liève ou la lune:
Apriès içou en revient une
Qui tint le tailléoir d'argent;
Içou vos di veraiment,
De fin or esmerée estoit,
Pières pressieuses avoit
El graal, de maintes manières,

Des plus rices et des plus cières
Qui el mont u en tière soient;
Totes autres pières pasoient
Celes du gréal, sans dotance.

As has been pointed out more than once, this Grail procession finds its close parallel in the Greek mass.[105] The candles, lance, chalice, paten, of the mass, all appear in Crestien's description. The blood on the lance and the host on the grail also make evident the reproduction here of the eucharistic rite. Compared with Crestien, Professor Nitze's Eleusinian parallel is not impressive. He says sacred objects,—of what sort he does not know, but *probably* legendary relics,—were *apparently* revealed by the hierophant to the initiate. The Christian explanation, on the other hand, is here adequate.

Notwithstanding the similarity of the two processions, however, Professor Nitze finds "the only possibly Christian elements in the procession are the 'plate,' and the host (oiste) which sustains the life of the Fisher-King's father."[106] Professor Brown makes not even this admission: "Chrétien could not have thought of connecting this procession with any part of the ritual of the Mass. Had he done so he would not have put the Grail into the hands of a lovely young maiden but of a priest or acolyte."[107] Not even the host suggests the mass: "Chrétien is certainly alluding here to some legend, . . . like that about Pachomius, of a saint who was miraculously sustained on a wafer a day, and not to the consecrated

[105] Burdach *Literaturzeitung* XXIV (1903), 2821 ff.; Golther *Parzival und der Gral, in deutscher Sage des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Munich, 1908 (*Walhalla*, IV), p. 2.

[106] *Op. cit.*, pp. 414, 415.

[107] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

wafer. The latter meaning for 'oiste' seems excluded; for to the twelfth century, Chrétien would have been guilty of gross sacrilege if he had represented the consecrated wafer as carried in procession in a secular hall by a beautiful maiden."[108] Similar is the position of Baist,[109] whom Professor Brown is apparently following in this part of his discussion. Golther, too, calls attention to the Grail maidens, but he thinks them justified on poetic grounds.

Not even the maidens as participants in the administration of the sacrament, are, however, opposed to the usage of the early Church. An Oriental custom, connected with the presence of women as well as men ascetics in the church, it traveled from the East into Ireland, and was brought to Brittany by Irish missionaries.[110] Especially interesting is the existence of such a usage in these places, both so definitely, if also obscurely, associated with Grail origins. Fortunately, authentic evidence of this usage has been preserved in a letter written in the sixth century by three Gallican bishops, Licinius of Tours, Melaine of Rennes, and Eustochius of Angers, to the Irish priests Lovocatus and Catihernus in Brittany. This letter, condemning the practices of these Irish priests as abuses, sets forth these practices in detail, and thus affords convincing evidence of their existence.

The letter reads as follows:

Dominis Beatissimis et in Christo fratribus Lovocato et Catiherno presbyteris, Licinius, Melanius et Eustochius, episcopi. Viri venerabilis Sparati presbyteri relatione cognovimus quod

108 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

109 *Parzival und der Gral*, 1909, p. 41.

110 See for full discussion of the whole matter of the Agapetae, H. Achelis, Hastings' *Encyc. of Religion and Ethics*. *Duchesne, Revue de Bretagne*, 57 (1885), 5 ff.

gestantes quasdam tabulas per diversorum civium vestrorum capanas circumferre non desinatis et missas, ibidem adhibitis mulieribus in sacrificio divino, quas conhospitas nominastis, facere praesumatis, sic ut erogantibus vobis eucharistiam illae vobis positis calices teneant et sanguinem Christi populo administrare praesumant. Cujus rei novitas et inaudita superstitio nos non leviter contristavit, ut tam horrenda secta, quae intra Gallias numquam fuisse probatur, nostris temporibus videatur emergere, quam Patres Orientales Pepondianam vocant, pro eo quod Pepondius auctor hujus scismatis fuerit, et mulieres sibi in sacrificio consocias habere praesumpserit, praecipientes ut quicumque huic errori voluerit inhaerere, a communione ecclesiastica reddatur extraneus. Qua de re Caritatem vestram in Christi amore pro ecclesiae unitate et fidei catholicae [societate] imprimis credidimus admonendam, obsecrantes ut cum ad vos nostra pervenerit pagina litterarum, repentina de praedictis rebus emendatio subsequatur; id est de antedictis tabulis, quas a presbyteris non dubitamus, ut dictis, consecratas, et de mulieribus illis quas conhospitas dicitis, quae nuncupatio non sine quodam tremore dicitur animi vel auditur, quod clerum infamat et sancta in religione tam detestandum nomen pudorem incutit et horrorem. Idcirco, secundum statuta Patrum, caritati vestrae praecipimus ut non solum huiuscemodi mulierculae sacramenta divina pro inlicita administratione non polluant, sed etiam praeter matrem, aviam, sororem vel neptem intra tectum cullulae suae si quis ad cohabitandum habere voluerit, canonum sententia a sacrosanctae liminibus ecclesiae arceatur.[111]

This rebuke, with the threat of excommunication, is to be noted on two scores, (1) These Irish priests celebrated the mass on portable altars carried from dwelling to dwelling, (2) They were assisted in the administration of the Eucharist by women. Both these points are of the highest interest to students of the Grail.

These portable altars, Duchesne notes, were employed in the East and West, not only in missionary districts where there were no churches, but also in the great cities, in chapels, cemeteries and elsewhere. In Wolfram's

[111] *Ibid.*, 57, 6 ff.

Parzival the Grail is not a vessel as in the other romances, but a stone. Recent criticism makes this stone equivalent to a small portable altar.[112] The Grail according to these explanations was originally the altar on which—to use Nutt's phrase—"is accomplished the perpetual miracle of the Eucharist, the spiritual feeding of the faithful." It would make little difference whether the altar were called Grail, or whether the specific vessel resting on the consecrated altar, and itself holding the miraculous blood, were so named; one writer might prefer the altar and another might think the vessel possessed the greater sanctity. Dr. Iselin has compared the grail stone or altar to the "marvellous stone which the builders rejected, but which became the cornerstone, that on which the foundations of the Earth are laid, the water yielding stone of the wilderness preserved by Joshua to become the gravestone of Christ."[113] The cup of the Eucharist has, on the other hand, become confused with the holy dish of the Last Supper and with the vessel in which Joseph caught the blood of the slain Christ. If the Grail were originally the altar, it is obvious that transfer of the name to the vessel of the blood would be simple.

Duchesne takes the real point of difficulty to be, not the use of the portable altars, but the celebration of the Eucharist in unconsecrated houses. He calls attention to the fact that in Armorica there were churches where the Eucharist could be celebrated and that in persisting in the custom of their own country (where the absence of numerous churches made the going from house to house to administer the sacrament necessary) the Irish

[112] L. E. Iselin, *Der morgenländische Ursprung der Grallegende*; cf. Nutt, *Academy*, May 10, 1910; Sterzenbach, *op. cit.*, p. 18 f.

[113] Cf. Iselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

priests were opposing themselves to the church in their community. This satisfies, it is to be noted, Professor Brown's objection to the fact that the rite is celebrated in "a secular hall." Instead of the "gross sacrilege" which Professor Brown takes such a celebration to be,[114] it becomes a reminder of what was in the early days of the church an established usage. Duchesne remarks that owing to the fact that there were few churches in Ireland customs in that country were different: "Au lieu de clergés paroissiux, on avait des missionaires itinérants, allant de ferme en ferme, ou encore d'une maison seigneuriale à l'autre."

The other practice complained of by the Gallican bishops—that of permitting women to participate in the administration of the Eucharist—connects itself even more significantly with the Grail procession, in which, according to the usual representation, maidens were present. This practice, as we have seen, was a survival of early usage whose origin is traceable to the Eastern church. How long or how widely this usage maintained itself it is impossible to say. Duchesne calls attention to the fact that the service of women at the altar was condemned by the Council of Nimes in 394. The letter of the bishops makes it clear that in the sixth century the practice was still in existence. The letter also indicates that after its suppression elsewhere this usage lingered on in Ireland and Brittany, the very territory in which the Grail legend first made its appearance. Though it is true that between the writing of this letter and the time of Crestien six centuries intervened, it is also true that it is impossible to say how far back we must go to find the germ of the Grail story. Moreover, it is equally impossible to conjecture how long such a

[114] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

usage as this, or the tradition of it, may have survived. The mistiest tradition would of course afford basis sufficient for later poetic application. If a story itself primitive and recording more or less contemporary practice, had come down to the Grail writers, their treatment of it, at a time when the custom referred to was no longer understood, would beyond question be vague and perhaps fragmentary. Such broken use would all the more be expected, if instead of an old story, only shadowy tradition that in remote times such a usage had obtained, were all that was available to the Grail romancer. If, however, we return to the supposition that there was a story in which women took part in some ritualistic celebration, and this seems probable, it may have developed in the Orient, in Ireland or in Brittany, the three places where the custom which might have given rise to such a story was known.

§2. Other Ritualistic Points

There is, then, nothing in the Grail procession, not even the Grail in the hands of a maiden, which cannot be explained as Christian. Are there other obstacles to a Christian interpretation of the Grail Castle episode?

(1) Wauchier's description, Professor Brown urges, is especially barbarous and opposed to Christian ideas. It has been shown that the blood flowing *à grand randon* finds its parallel in the Longinus legend. Moreover, there is no reason to regard Wauchier's express statement that the lance is that of the crucifixion as an interpolation. Besides these two indications that the passage is Christian there is another, the carrying of the blood by a tube, which Professor Brown by intimation makes heathen. He remarks in connection with his Irish

spears that if they did bleed it would be necessary, as in the case of the lance of Wauchier, to carry off the blood by "spout and conduit." Now the tube which is found in Wauchier's description is precisely one of the points chosen by Staerk as indicating Christian influence. He says: 'dass der kranke Fischerkönig aus dem Gral Blut mittels einer Röhre führung der Kelchentziehung in Verfolg des Transsubstantiations—dogmas, also bis zum 12. jahrh., verbreitenten Sitte, den Wein mittelst der fistula eucharistica zu geniessen."[115]

(2) Yet another point which Professor Brown implies is heathen is capable of Christian explanation. He takes Wolfram's description of the Grail to be essentially heathen with some religious associations thrown around it. He says, "The stone received this power from a host or wafer that every year on Good Friday a white dove lays upon it. The sight of the Grail protects a man from death for a week and keeps him from growing older."[116] In his note to this passage, he suggests that the first statement, that concerning the host, is Christian and late, but would evidently let the latter statement stand as genuine and non-Christian. His note reads: "These life-giving powers of the Grail are mentioned in an earlier passage, and are not like the food-giving properties, said to be due to the 'oblat' brought by the dove. May not this omission be a hint that the story about the dove was a late explanation loosely attached to the account of the marvellous stone?" The suggestion which Professor Brown here makes supplies another illustration of his tendency to suspect Christian interpolations. In this instance, however, he has not

115 *Ueber den Ursprung der Grallegende* (1903), p. 20, note 2.
116 *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

been sufficiently drastic, as the part he would leave as earlier is as thoroughly Christian as the part he considers a late explanation loosely attached. The life-giving powers of the Grail are also derived directly from the Eucharist. Mediæval ideas regarding the mass are evident in this item drawn from the *Vertewis of the Mass*, attributed by the writer to Augustine: "Sancte Augustyne sais that the day that a man sal here mess with clen hart & gud deuocione he sal nocht de of a sudane ded."[117] Very similar is the statement, likewise made on the authority of Augustine, in the metrical text, *The Vertue of þe Masse*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

> "that daye a man deuoutly here masse,
> whyle he is present he shall not wexe olde."[118]

An even more definite expression is found in "The Sacrifice of the Mass":

> Thyn age, at messe shall not encrease,
> nor sodeyn deth þat day shall not þe spill."[119]

(3) Miss Weston takes the weeping women of the Grail story to indicate kinship with vegetation rites, where the death of the god was "mourned with solemn ritual in which women took prominent part." Perhaps these weeping women also may be explained by early Christian usage. The Christian festival of the saints, as Saintyves has pointed out, were the direct result of the demand made by the people to continue their custom

[117] Ed. J. R. Lumby from MS. Camb. Univ. Kk. I. 5., *EETS.*, 43, p. 114.

[118] Quoted by Lumby, *Ibid.*, 129. *Cf. Lay-Folks Mass-Book*, *EETS.*, 69, 56. Cf. N. Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, Ed. L. F. Powell, Oxford, 1908, p. 318.

[119] *Songs, Carols from the Balliol MS* 354, *EETS.*, 101, p. 70.

of honoring the dead. The cult of the dead was common throughout the country surrounding the Mediterranean. These funeral feasts were accompanied by lamentation and weeping. As Saintyves remarks in this connection: "La communion eucharistque en mémoire de la morte du Seigneur est primitivement une sorte de banquet, mais inversement l'agape funèbre est une sorte de communion avec le mort."[120]

Following this suggestion, the Grail ceremony would be more than the usual celebration of the mass. To all the ordinary mystic significance of communion with the dead Savior, there would be added the actual human presentment of the Redeemer with whom communication would be possible. Significant in this connection is the question which awakes the dead and by which the living are aided. According to Professor Jastrow's suggestion, the inquiry "is of the nature of a religious oracle." If the Christian festival grew out of the Oriental death cult it would not be strange to have added to the ceremony the other rite of awaking the dead, the rite of inquiry."[121]

120 *Les Saints Successeurs des Dieux*, 1907, p. 71, note 3.

121 Cf. above, pp. 227, 228. According to Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (Eng. J. Hutchinson, p. 28), not much is known of this 'enquiring of the dead.' Among the various orders of priests, the 'enquirer of the dead' is included. The question asked by Isis 'whose words awake the dead' of Ra (sun-god, water or harvest-god, etc.) is perhaps worth noting. When Ra is 'weakening with years,' Isis desiring to learn his name in order that she might share his power went to him and said, "What aileth thee, what aileth thee, divine father?" (Steindorff, *Relig. of Ancient Egyptians*, 109; Budge, *The God of the Egyptians*, I. 380). Note the similarity of the question to that asked by Parzival in *Wolfram* "oeheim, waz wirret dir?" (*Parzival*, Lachmann, 1879, XVI, l. 29, p. 374.)

§3. The Fisher-King

If the Grail procession is a reproduction of the procession of the Eucharist, who is the wounded king? Golther believes there is some symbolical connection between the wounded king, his father, and the young hero, on the one hand, and the mass taken in the mystic sense on the other. If the Fisher-King is taken as Christ, he remarks, then the three persons can be explained. The wounded king is the spear-wounded Christ, the old king is Christ in the grave, the young knight is the risen Christ. He thinks the threefold mystery of the sacrifice, death, and resurrection is represented symbolically by the three Grail keepers.

In support of his view, he calls attention to the pouring of hot water into the wine in the Eastern church. This act is meant to represent symbolically the dead and yet living spear-wounded Savior. He is dead in one sense but the warm blood which flows from the wounded side would symbolically reproduce the reawakening at the same time to immortality.

It will be recalled that Professor Nitze's and Miss Weston's explanations of the Fisher-King, though they take him to be the vegetation god, agree in part with Golther's. They both consider the wounded king the intermediary between two states of existence; they agree also in making the "double" the vital principle; about the third they differ, since Miss Weston attempts to find a third representing the merely physical (the king of the Chastel Morteil) to complete the trilogy, and Mr. Nitze takes the third to be the initiate. In this last detail I agree with Mr. Nitze. Golther's explanation would be more satisfactory if he combined the two representa-

tives of Christ and made the dead Christ also the immortal, constantly sustained Redeemer, the source of all spritual life.

In the case of the Fisher-King, then, as well as in the points already considered — the lance, the grail, the sacred procession — the Christian explanation satisfies the conditions imposed by the Grail story as well as the Celtic or the agrarian cult parallels hitherto offered. If we take it that the festival was possibly connected with some Eastern ritual feast of the dead such as we now know had been adopted by the Christian church in the case of saints and martyrs, it may be that the questions that awoke the dead and served both dead and living were also included in the service of some Christian cult.

A curious old ballad appears to me to offer significant resemblance to Grail tradition.[122] It is clearly connected in some way with the Grail Castle:

Lully, lulley, lully, lulley
The faucon hath borne my make away

He bare him up, he bare him down,
He bare him into an orchard brown.

In that orchard there was an halle
That was hanged with purpill and pall.

And in that hall there was a bede,
It was hanged with gold so rede.

And in that bede there lithe a knight
His woundis bleding day and might

By that bede side kneleth a may,
And she wepeth both night and day

And by that bede side there stondeth a stone
Corpus Christi wreten there on.[123]

[122] Dyboski (*EETS.*, 101, p. xxvi) notes the resemblance to the Grail legend.

[123] The editors, Chambers and Sidgwick, (*Early English Lyrics*, p. 148) say that no other early version is known but pub-

Parallels are here obvious—the Grail Castle vaguely located, the weeping maiden, the ever bleeding body on the bier, with the identity openly stated in the writing on the stone. The *Corpus Christi* with the accompanying suggestion of the ceaseless bleeding must inevitably strike one as an explicit reference to the Eucharist.[124] I offer the ballad, not of course as convincing testimony, but as a bit of evidence which may be taken into ac-

lish in a note (p. 357) a traditional version found in the middle of the last century. Cf. *EETS.*, e. s., 101, p. 103; *Anglia*, XXVI, 175; Flugel, *Neuengl. Lesebuch*, p. 142.

1. Over yonder's a park, which is newly begun,
   All bells in Paradise I heard them a-ring;
   Which is silver on the outside, and gold within.
   And I love sweet Jesus above all things.
2. And in that park there stands a hall,
   Which is covered all over with purple and pall.
3. And in that hall there stands a bed,
   Which is hung all round with silk curtains so red.
4. And in that bed there lies a knight,
   Whose wounds they do bleed by day and by night.
5. At that bed side there lies a stone,
   Which is our blessed virgin Mary then kneeling on
6. At that bed's foot there lies a hound,
   Which is licking the blood as it daily runs down.
7. At that bed's head there grows a thorn
   Which was never so blossomed since Christ was born.

This reference to the thorn and its blossoming must recall the famous thorn of Glastonbury (see Skeat's note to *Lyfe of Joseph of Arimathea*, *EETS.*, 42, 73, 74), and of course makes the Grail connection more probable.

[124] The ballad in its present form is apparently, especially in the later version, a Marian lament. If it grew originally out of Grail tradition, the weeping maiden would naturally suggest the Virgin weeping for her Son.

count in the consideration of Professor Golther's conjecture that the figure on the bier in the Grail Castle symbolizes the wounded Christ, and that the whole Grail rite is meant to explain to the initiate the sacrificial, expiatory death of the Savior, and the mystery of eternal spiritual existence, Christ himself being the life-principle, and his blood, in consequence, the living food of redeemed man.

Many points in this discussion are of course tentative. Too little is as yet known about the history of the early church, its rites and customs, to make positive assertion in all cases possible. But where there exist so many similarities between conceptions current among the early Christians and preceding non-Christian ideas and usages, it is clearly not safe to assume that such Christian coloring as is now evident in the Grail legend, because of its apparent confusion with what we are accustomed to call non-Christian feeling, is therefore superficial and a late accretion. The heathen color is assuredly there, but in all probability it entered with the early Christian conceptions which had embodied much of such tradition. The contention of the present study, then, is simply that though parallels undoubtedly exist between the bleeding lance of the Grail romances and heathen magic weapons, and though reflections of agrarian rites can definitely be pointed out in the Grail ceremony, since the Christian spear had by the time of Crestien acquired many of these marvellous properties, and since the Christian liturgy had most certainly taken over—in more or less confused and modified form, it is true—many of the precedent Mediterranean ritual conceptions, it seems unnecessary to go back of Christian tradition for adequate explanation of Grail imagery.

It is to be noted, however, that what has already been pointed out in the case of the bleeding spear is also true of the whole Grail rite. Professor Brown's heathen parallels account for the spear of the Grail ceremony only in part. He considers its power to avenge and to destroy, but neglects its equally manifest ability to bring peace and life. The heathen corresponding rites in somewhat the same way—though here the parallel is less close because of the nobility of some of the precedent ideas—fail to account entirely for the high degree of spiritualization found in the Christian Grail ceremony. The Christian customs reflected in the Grail legends are traceable as we have seen, in the sixth century, and perhaps are even earlier. The conclusion to which this evidence appears to lead is, that the part of the Perceval story that deals with the Grail probably took form long before Crestien, Wolfram, or even Bleheris made use of it in romance.

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Retractatio

IN THE

Ambrosian and Palatine Recensions of Plautus

A STUDY OF THE PERSA, POENULUS, PSEUDOLUS, STICHUS AND TRINUMMUS

BY

CORNELIA CATLIN COULTER

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, U. S. A., November, 1911

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

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INTRODUCTION

The twenty-one plays of Plautus, in the form in which they have come down to us, present contradictions and inconsistencies which must impress even an uncritical reader, and which demand explanation at the hands of the Plautine scholar. For some defects we must hold Plautus himself directly responsible. We know that he wrote in an age of rude technique, and that he allowed himself great liberty in adapting Greek comedies for the Roman stage. Terence (*Adel.* Prol. 6-10) says that Plautus, in presenting his *Commorientes,* a version of the Συναποθνήσκοντες of Diphilus, left out a whole scene (*eum Plautus locum reliquit integrum*), and the prologue of the *Casina* (l. 65) warns the audience that Euthynicus will not appear upon the stage because *Plautus noluit.* One of the greatest living authorities on Plautus [1] has therefore assumed that at least two of the plays owe their faulty construction to Plautus himself; that it was he who changed the *Casina* from a finished comedy to a farce, and made the *Stichus* end in an uproarious song and dance.

Terence also tells us that Plautus combined the plots of two or more Greek comedies into one play. For this blending of originals (technically called *contaminatio,* from the Terentian verb *contaminare*), Terence frequently justifies himself. In one such defense (*Heaut.* Prol.

[1] F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen,* Berlin, 1895, pp. 150 ff. Cf. Leo, *Plautinische Cantica,* pp. 105 ff., in *Abhandl. Gött. Ges.* 1896-1897; Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, pp. 375 ff.

20-21) he says that he has good models for this practice (*bonorum exemplo*), and in another (*And.* Prol. 18-19) he mentions *Naevium Plautum Ennium . . . . quos hic noster auctores habet.* Plautus himself does not hint at the existence of *contaminatio* in his plays; the extant prologues either omit the name of the Greek original altogether (*e. g., Amphitruo, Captivi*), or they give only one (*e. g.,* the Ἔμπορος of Philemon for the *Mercator,* the Καρχηδόνιος for the *Poenulus*).

But a study of the plays reveals more than Plautus himself disclosed. When we find in a comedy of Plautus two lines of action, the one completed before the other begins, and the second not a necessary outcome of the first; when, moreover, we find the two actions contradicting each other in detail, we can assume that the comedy is a combination of two Greek plays. As an example of such construction, we may take the *Miles Gloriosus.*

The Greek name of the play is given by Plautus (l. 86) as the Ἀλαζών, but its structure precludes the idea of a single original. The story, briefly told, runs as follows: The braggart soldier for whom the play is named has obtained possession of Philocomasium, the sweetheart of the young Athenian Pleusicles, and has carried her off to his house in Ephesus. But Pleusicles follows them to Ephesus, takes up his quarters in the house next door, and, with the help of friends, cuts a hole in the dividing wall. Through this hole Philocomasium can pass to join her lover without arousing suspicion in the soldier's household. It happens, however, that her custodian Sceledrus climbs to the roof one day and sees her in the embrace of Pleusicles. To hoodwink Sceledrus, a story is forthwith concocted by the conspirators, that the twin-

sister of Philocomasium, who is her exact counterpart, has come to Ephesus with her lover, and is staying in the adjoining house. Sceledrus hears the story, sees the supposed sister come out of the other house at the very moment when he is sure that Philocomasium is safe inside the house of the *miles,* and is so terrified at the possible consequences of his spying that he decides to run away. This ends the second act. The third act introduces a new plot by Pleusicles and his allies, which is carried out in the fourth and fifth. They know how vain the soldier is of his fascination for women. They therefore send him a message purporting to come from his neighbor's wife, who is dying for love of him. The soldier is flattered by the story and resolves to get rid of Philocomasium in order to be free for this new love. So he sends the apparently reluctant girl back to Athens, and attempts to visit his new mistress—with disastrous results.

The story clearly introduces two plots, both concerned with the freeing of Philocomasium—the trick of the secret passage and the fictitious twin-sister, and the trick that depends upon the vanity of the soldier. The first occupies Act II., the second Acts IV. and V. The connection between the two is so slight that they might easily come from two different Greek plays. Then too, the play shows confusion and contradiction just at the point where these two stories join. In ll. 582-583 Sceledrus announces his intention of running away; but in ll. 816-817, he is summoned out of the house, and his assistant Lucrio reports that he has drunk himself to sleep in the cellar. This scene (III., 2) repeats the situation at the end of Act II.; for Lucrio, like Sceledrus, cries out that his master will punish him and that he is going to get out of the way; and there is in the repetition no

increase of comic effect. We notice, too, a difficulty about the plan of the three conspirators. In ll. 592 ff., the session which has been going on inside the house is to be continued; in ll. 596 ff., the three meet outside the house, apparently to consider plans; ll. 612 ff. (with which ll. 738-739, 749 agree) would lead one to believe that all the arrangements had been completed inside; but at l. 765 active plotting begins again, and an entirely new scheme is evolved. Then at ll. 805 ff. comes the surprising command to Pleusicles not to call Philocomasium by name in the presence of the *miles,* but to address her as *Dicea*—a command which has no connection with any previous discussion, and no effect upon the later action of the play.

Therefore Leo [2] seems justified in his conclusion that the *Miles Gloriosus* combines material from two Greek plays. One was a play depending upon the secret passage and the story of the twin-sister. In this, the slave of the *miles* was duped and made off in terror (Act II.); then the plan of the three friends was rehearsed, as it had been agreed upon inside the house (ll. 805-809); and the *miles* himself was deceived, in much the same way as his slave had been (cf. ll. 805 ff.). In the other play, the Ἀλαζών, the weaknesses of the *miles* were exposed (Act I.); a plot was concocted on the stage, to strike him in a particularly vulnerable point (ll. 765-804); and this plot was carried out through the pretended wife of his neighbor and her slave (Acts IV.-V.).

Leo's analysis of the *Miles* marks the culmination of more than sixty years' work on Plautus. When Grauert,[3] in 1833, investigated the plays of Terence for traces of

[2] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.,* pp. 161 ff.

[3] H. Grauert, *Historische u. philologische Analekten,* Münster, 1833, pp. 116-207.

contaminatio, he quoted Terence's statements about Plautus, and decided that, in all probability, Plautus had frequently combined plots; but he thought it impossible to push the question further without *scholia* on Plautus or a fuller knowledge of his Greek originals. Ladewig,[4] in 1841, quoted the passage from the *Adelphoe* again, and used it to prove that the *Epidicus* was "contaminated"; the next year [5] he added to his list the *Bacchides*, the *Captivi*, the *Miles*, the *Pseudolus*, the *Truculentus*, and (less positively) the *Stichus* and the *Trinummus*. Modern scholars would disagree with Ladewig on some of these points; they would probably deny *contaminatio* in the *Bacchides* and the *Captivi*, and would certainly affirm it in the *Poenulus*, which Ladewig expressly excludes: but they are indebted to him for first advocating the theory and for using it to account for contradictions and weaknesses in the plays. The danger of overemphasizing this phase of Plautus' work was recognized by Teuffel.[6] He denied Ladewig's assertions of *contaminatio* in certain plays, but pointed out that it would be easy to assume it in the *Poenulus*, which shows evidence of two independent plots.

During the next twenty-five years, a number of dissertations and articles on individual plays were published. Ribbeck,[7] Ladewig,[8] and Schmidt [9] did good work on the

[4] Th. Ladewig in *Zeitschrift für Altertumswissenschaft*, 1841, coll. 1079-1099.

[5] Ladewig, *Über den Kanon des Volcatius Sedigitus*, Neustrelitz, 1842, pp. 27 ff.

[6] W. Teuffel in *Rhein. Mus.* 8 (1853), pp. 25-41 (= *Studien u. Charakteristiken*,[2] pp. 315-352).

[7] O. Ribbeck in *Rhein. Mus.* 12 (1857), pp. 594-611 (especially pp. 606, 607).

[8] Ladewig in *Philol.* 17 (1861), pp. 255-261.

[9] F. Schmidt in Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.*, Suppl-Bd. 9 (1877-1878), pp. 321-401.

Miles, and Reinhardt,[10] after arguing correctly that certain difficulties—*e. g.,* in the *Epidicus*—could not be ascribed to *contaminatio*, added a valuable discussion of the *Poenulus.* Goetz [11] devoted a section of his work on "dittographies" to a review of Ladewig's principles and a statement of his own position. He thought that other reasons than *contaminatio* could be found for the smaller inconsistencies to which Ladewig objected, and he was on the whole inclined to find other reasons even where the difficulties were greater—for instance, in the *Poenulus.* Langen,[12] in his *Plautinische Studien,* also took up the question of *contaminatio,* arguing against its presence in the *Epidicus,* and supporting by detailed analyses the theory that it existed in the *Miles* and the *Poenulus.* The last two plays were taken as certain examples of *contaminatio* by Leo,[13] in the third chapter of his *Plautinische Forschungen,* and received such masterly treatment there that further discussion of them is almost superfluous. Leo himself suggested [14] that further investigation might add other plays to the list of the "certainly contaminated," and this prophecy will probably be fulfilled—in fact, in the case of the *Pseudolus,* it has already been fulfilled.[15]

Quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam, says Terence (*And.* 20), speaking of *contaminatio* in Naevius, Plautus,

[10] L. Reinhardt in Studemund's *Studien auf dem Gebiete des archaischen Lateins* I. (1873), pp. 79-111.

[11] G. Goetz, *Dittographien im Plautustexte,* in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 315-322.

[12] P. Langen, *Plautinische Studien,* Berlin, 1886.

[13] F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen,* Berlin, 1895.

[14] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 153, n. 2.

[15] J. Bierma, *Quaestiones de Plautina Pseudolo,* Groninger, 1897; Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1903, pp. 347-354.

and Ennius; and "Plautine carelessness," in a broader sense, has become proverbial. The most detailed investigation of the subject has been made by Langen,[16] and it is to his work that one first turns for examples. Such are the contradictions in the *Amphitruo*, where it is expressly stated that the scene of the play is in Thebes (Prol. 97; cf. ll. 376, 677, 1046), but at the same time frequent references are made to "the harbor" (ll. 149, 164, 195, etc.), and in the *Epidicus*, where the price of the girl is given as fifty *minae* in ll. 364-368 (cf. ll. 52, 141, 347), but as thirty *minae* in ll. 703-705. There are inconsistencies of character, too. Through the first four acts of the *Asinaria*, the figure of Philaenium appeals to us; in the closing scene it can arouse only disgust. An equally inconsistent scene occurs at the close of the *Bacchides*, where the two indignant fathers, instead of rescuing their sons from the clutches of the *meretrices*, themselves ogle these corrupters of youth, and end by going into the house to join the merry-making. Objection is sometimes made to the wordiness of certain scenes, the succession of quibbles and poor jokes, especially when one of the characters in the dialogue has announced that he is in a hurry. In the *Asinaria*, Act. II., Scene 2, Leonida comes on the stage, intent upon finding Libanus and imparting to him some important news. But when they meet, they thrust and parry for over thirty lines (ll. 297-331) before Leonida announces his business. And Thesprio, who is in such haste that he can not even look back to see who is pulling his cloak, nevertheless has time for a hundred lines of repartee and gossip. (*Epid.* I., 1.) Such flaws as these would not have es-

[16] P. Langen, *Plautinische Studien*, Berlin, 1886.

caped the notice of an accurate writer. But Plautus was not an accurate writer. His plays were composed hurriedly for immediate production, and his aim was not to write technically perfect drama, but to furnish amusement to the Roman populace.

The aim of an author who writes for the stage is necessarily different from the aim of one who writes for the reading public, and the history of a piece that lives only on the boards must differ from that of a printed book. Actors and stage-managers naturally make excisions, additions, and alterations to suit their own whims and the changing taste of the public;[17] and unless there be in addition a recognized standard text, these changes are likely to obscure the original form of the play. Such a fate is what we might expect for Plautus, if his comedies were performed after his death. And that his plays, like those of Naevius, Pacuvius, and Accius, were given at a later date, we can infer from Cicero's description of the lifelike way in which Roscius played the part of Ballio (*Pro Rosc. Com.* 7, 20).

In particular, we know of a definite period at which a special interest was taken in the production of Plautus. The beginning of this period is marked by the prologue to the *Casina*, ll. 5-20. The managers have heard, they say to the audience, *studiose expetere vos Plautinas fabulas*, and so they have brought out again an old comedy which, when it was first given, won the victory over all competitors. The date of this "Plautine Revival" is fixed by ll. 14-20. The second production of the *Casina* took place after the passing of the *flos poetarum . . . qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum* (ll. 18-19).

[17] The technical term applied to this process of addition and alteration is *retractatio*—a "working-over" of the plays. Cf. p. 13.

This must point to a date after 159 B. C., the year in which Terence died. Practically the same results are reached by calculation from ll. 14-15. There the speaker says that the *seniores* who were present would remember the first performance of the play, but the *iuniores* would not be familiar with it. There was a gap, then, of about thirty years, between the first production, which could not have been later than the death of Plautus, in 184 B. C., and the second, which was presumably not earlier than 154 B. C.

We do not know how long this revival lasted, nor how extensive it was. But we should naturally expect the managers who conducted the later performances to make some changes in the text to suit their own audiences. The most obvious addition would be some mention in the prologue of the Plautine authorship of the play. Thus we find in the scrap of prologue that is prefixed to our text of the *Pseudolus*, the same phrase that we noticed in the *Casina* (*Plautina . . . fabula*). Possibly, too, the prominence given to the name of Plautus in some of the other prologues may indicate a post-Plautine origin. The prologuist of the *Menaechmi* says (l. 3) *Apporto vobis Plautum—lingua, non manu;* and the Truculentus begins: *Perparcam partem postulat Plautus loci De vostris magnis atque amoenis moenibus.*

The name of the *Casina* seems to have been changed at this time, for we find it appearing in the prologue (ll. 31-32) as Κληρούμενοι . . . *Graece, Latine Sortientes.*[18] To the changes made in the same period may

[18] It is not clear from the text whether *Sortientes* was the original or the post-Plautine title of the play. The weight of recent scholarship favors the former view. See M. Schanz, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*[3] I., 1 (1907), p. 78, and the literature cited there.

be due the variant titles for other plays which occur in the grammarians. The *Mostellaria* is cited twice by Festus (p. 162M, quoting *Most.* 240, and p. 305, quoting *Most.* 727-728) as *Plautus in Phasmate* (*Fasmate*); and the *Syr . . .*(*i. e., Syra,* the name of the *lena?*) which Festus cites (pp. 301, 352) may be only another name for the *Cistellaria*, since Priscian (I., 103) quotes the same phrase in a four-line passage (= *Cist.* 405-408) from *Plautus in Cistellaria.*[19]

Even in the body of the plays there are many suspicious points which can best be referred to changes made at the time of the Plautine Revival. It is hard to reconcile Cicero's exclamation (*De Senect.* 14, 50): *Quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus! quam Pseudolo!* with our present text of the *Truculentus,* in which the title is inappropriate and the action motiveless. Therefore Bergk's [20] theory that we have merely a shortened form of the Plautine play seems plausible. The *Curculio,* too, is slight in plot and (like the *Truculentus*) is considerably below the average of Plautus in length, so that here again we may suspect that the play has been abridged.[21]

At times the manuscripts show even clearer traces of revision. In many places we can recognize two parallel versions of the same speech or bit of dialogue. A glance at *Bacch.* 377-378, 380-381 will show that they contain exactly the same thought, expressed in almost identical words:

[19] F. Schoell, Ed. Mai. (1894). Praef., pp. XIII f.

[20] Th. Bergk, *Beiträge zur lateinischen Grammatik,* Halle, 1870, pp. 128 ff. O. Ribbeck in *Rhein. Mus.* 37 (1882), p. 422.

[21] Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), p. 282; Ed. Mai. (1879), Praef., p. xxii.

ll. 377-378. *Quibus patrem et me* teque *amicos*que omnes adfectas *tuos*
Ad probrum, damnum, *flagitium* adpellere *una* et perdere.
ll. 380-381. *Quibus tuom patrem meque una, amicos,* adfinis *tuos*
Tua infamia fecisti gerulifigulos *flagiti.*

Similarly, *Most.* 816[bc]

SI. Vin qui perductet? TH. Apage istum perductorem: non placet.
Quicquid est, errabo potius, quam perductet quispiam,

presents in shorter form the sense of ll. 843-847:

SI. Eho, istum, puere, circumduce hasce aedis et conclavia.
Nam egomet ductarem, nisi mi esset apud forum negotium.
TH. Apage istum a me perductorem: nil moror ductarier
Quicquid est, errabo potius, quam perductet quispiam.

In both these passages, only one of the two great families of manuscripts [22] is available, and all the manuscripts of the family agree in giving both versions. In some cases, however, one family presents a secondary version which is missing in the other. The most notable example is in the first scene of the *Stichus*, where a *canticum* is followed by a passage in *senarii* of exactly the same tenor—the latter omitted in A, but preserved in P. There are other less striking but still undoubted cases. *Bacch.* 519[bc] (omitted in A) repeat the sense and some of the phrasing of ll. 512-514:

ll. 512-514. *Verum quam illa umquam de mea pecunia*
Ramenta fiat plumea *propensior,*
Mendicum *malim* mendicando vincere.

[22] A, the Ambrosian Palimpsest, probably written in the fourth century, and P, the Palatine family, a group of minuscule manuscripts ranging from the tenth to the twelfth century in date.

ll. 519[abc]. *Sed autem quam illa umquam meis opulentiis*
Ramenta fiat gravior aut *propensior,*
Mori me *malim* excruciatum inopia.

In *Cist.* 120-122, 126-129, the verbal parallels are not so close, but the thought is nevertheless the same, and the second passage is omitted in A. It is possible (though too much weight must not be laid upon this, in view of the proverbial weakness of grammarians' memories) that some of the disagreements between the *testimonia* and our received text may be explained on the theory of parallel versions, especially as Charisius, in quoting *Bacch.* 545 (*Bacch.* 540-551 are omitted in A) says *in quibusdam non feruntur*.

In addition to these secondary versions, the manuscripts sometimes present apparent attempts to shorten scenes by omission.[23] People who had to stretch their legs before a *Plautina longa fabula* came on the boards (*Pseud.* Prol.) would be likely to welcome some cutting. The method of indicating such omissions, according to Lindsay, was to adscribe in the margin, opposite the beginning of the passage in question, the line or lines which were immediately to follow.[24] This seems to be the purpose of the repetition in the first scene of the *Bacchides.*[25] Line 73 appears after l. 64, as well as in its proper place, and the verses that intervene (65-72) contain a series of puns and quibbles which might easily be spared. *Most.* 553, 557-559 are repeated after l. 549, as if to indicate the possibility of shortening this rather wordy passage.[26]

[23] Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 268 f. W. Lindsay, *Ancient Editions of Plautus,* Oxford, 1904, p. 1, note a (end).

[24] Lindsay in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* 21 (1900), p. 27.

[25] Goetz, Ed. Mai. (1886), *ad loc.*

[26] H. Kellermann in *Comm. phil. Jen.* 7 (1903), p. 134. Cf. Lindsay, Ed. (1905), *ad loc.*

In the *Trinummus,* some stage-manager seems to have cut out ll. 362-368—pious reflections which are somewhat tedious after the protracted moralizing of the first part of the scene—in order to come to the point in l. 369.[27] This line is inserted in A after l. 361; and in P, not only l. 369, but l. 368 as well, has slipped into this place.

To this stage revision of Plautus has been given, in recent years, the technical name *retractatio.* It corresponds to the Greek διασκευή (which was Ritschl's term for it), and though, like the word *contaminatio,* it has no support in classical Latin, it is so convenient that it may well be retained. The first work on *retractatio* was done by Osann,[28] in the last three chapters of his *Analecta Critica.* He summed up the evidence for performances of Plautus after his death, with especial emphasis on the *Casina*-prologue, and argued that many variations in our texts must go back to these later productions. The actors' versions were, in his opinion, responsible for the citation by grammarians of verses not in our text, or of different forms of verses which we have, as well as for parallels in the manuscripts of Plautus. His first two points are open to question, and so is his assumption of post-Plautine subject-matter in such passages, *e. g.,* as *Bacch.* 1072-1075, which speaks of a triumph as a common thing, or *Cas.* 699, which mentions a *vilicus.* But his principle that where parallel versions exist both should be preserved, is correct; and his opinion agrees in several cases (*e. g., Bacch.* 511-520; *Pers.* 442-443, 433-436) with the results of more recent scholarship, while in others (*Capt.* 1022, *Most.* 548 ff.,

[27] Lindsay in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* 21 (1900), pp. 27 f.
[28] F. Osann, *Analecta Critica,* Berlin, 1816, pp. 141-204.

Poen. 1042 ff.), even though his solution may not be correct, he has recognized the difficulty.

The weak points in Osann's theories were patent enough, and it was these, rather than his real contributions to the study of Plautus, that scholars of his generation chose to consider. Ladewig [29] pointed out the danger of inferring from discrepancies in grammarians' citations that different versions of a play existed, when the same result might have been brought about by many other causes—lacunae in our text, carelessness in quoting, or error in the text tradition of the grammarians themselves.

Ritschl's *Parerga* [30] contain a number of valuable observations on the period of the Plautine Revival [31] and its effect on the manuscript tradition—especially changes of title,[32] new versions of the prologues,[33] and the second ending of the *Poenulus.*[34] But in reality Ritschl was rather conservative in applying his theories to single points in the text. He notes various kinds of addition and repetition in the *Trinummus,* but, even though he observes that l. 312 " perbene, si numeros spectas, factus est versiculus," he takes this merely as proof of " vetustas interpolationis et exercitatio interpolatoris." [35] The section *De Plauti Bacchidibus* [36] contains a spirited reply to Osann on this one play. Ritschl argues that the difficulties of the play are caused mainly by the loss of a large portion at the beginning, and that the confusion in the text which leads Osann to suspect parallel versions,

[29] Ladewig in *Zeitschr. f. Altertumswiss.* 1841, coll. 1079 ff.; *Rhein. Mus.* 3 (1845), pp. 179-205; 520-540.

[30] F. Ritschl, *Parerga Plautina et Terentiana,* Leipzig, 1845.

[31] Pp. 89 ff. [32] Pp. 157 ff.; 233 ff.

[33] Pp. 180 ff. [34] Pp. 601 ff. [35] Pp. 509 ff.

[36] Pp. 389 ff. Cf. Ritschl in *Rhein. Mus.* 4 (1846), pp. 354 ff.; 567 ff. (= *Opusc.* II., pp. 293-374).

is due to the usual carelessness of scribes. It is possible, however, to trace a gradual shifting of position in Ritschl's editions of the plays. When he edited the *Trinummus*, he committed himself no further than to say:[37] "Ceterum diversarum recensionum tenues quasdam tanquam reliquias non infitior hodie quoque superesse, sed earum ex antiquioribus ut puto saeculis repetendarum, partim autem sua sponte natarum, partim critica opera grammaticorum paratarum"; and the note on *Bacch.* 377, 378 (Ed. 1849) is equally cautious:[38] "Non possunt ab eodem posita esse qui versus 380, 381 scriberet: quamquam iam a Nonio laeti, qui priorem affert." Ritschl recognized traces of διασκευή in the *Stichus*,[39] especially in the first scene, and in the names of the sisters, which appear in different forms in the two families of manuscripts: he thought that *Pers.* IV., 9 must have suffered shortening;[40] and finally, in his preface to the *Mercator*,[41] he not only distinguished between διασκευή and the dittography of the scribes, but assumed that the prologue, either as a whole or in part, and three certain cases of "parallels," dated from the Plautine Revival at the beginning of the seventh century A. U. C.

Bergk, in his reviews of Ritschl's edition of Plautus,[42] had noted that certain cases of dittography were due, not to the changes of a grammarian or copyist, but to alteration for the stage; and he observed with some pleasure Ritschl's gradual conversion to his own point of view.

[37] Ed. (1848), Praef., p. lxvii. (=*Opusc.* v., 325).
[38] Ed. (1849), *ad loc.* [39] Ed. (1850), Praef., pp. x ff.
[40] Ed. (1853), Praef., p. ix. [41] Ed. (1854), Praef., pp. vii f.
[42] Th. Bergk in *Zeitschr. f. Altertumswiss.* 6 (1848), coll. 1124-1149 (=*Opusc.* I., pp. 3-29) on *Trinummus*; 8 (1850), coll. 325-348 (=*Opusc.* I., pp. 29-53), on *Miles*, *Bacchides*, *Stichus*.

Even Ladewig so far changed his opinion about this "grundverkehrt" theory of Osann's,[43] that he published in 1861 [44] a series of conjectures of his own, made on the basis of Ritschl's text, in which he recognized a number of parallel passages and later additions.

Thus at the end of half a century, *retractatio* had won a place as a recognized phenomenon in Plautus. The work since 1870 has consisted chiefly of a more detailed study of single plays, and of theorizing as to when and how the later versions entered our text tradition.

Oskar Seyffert [45] in 1874 suggested a theory which he has since elaborated: namely, that the variant lines of our text of Plautus were, at one period in the history of the manuscripts, written in the margin; and that their present position, sometimes before, sometimes after, the place where they belong, is due to careless copying from the margin into the text. Seyffert's statements were made on the basis of a few suspicious passages. Two years later Goetz [46] made a study of a large number of dittographies, dividing them into four general classes: (1) where one version immediately follows the other; (2) where one is inserted in the middle of the other; (3) where the two are separated by an interval; (4) where only the later version is preserved. As characteristics of the rewritten passages he notes an effort for rhythmical correspondence, humor of a very poor quality, and especially the attempt to shorten excessively long scenes. He observes that the dittographies generally appear in both families of manuscripts, and he therefore concludes that

[43] Ladewig in *Rhein. Mus.* 3 (1845), p. 523.
[44] Ladewig in *Philol.* 17 (1861), pp. 248-269; 452-480.
[45] O. Seyffert, *Studia Plautina*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 10 ff.
[46] G. Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 235-326.

they probably stood in the common archetype, into which the smaller ones at least were introduced as marginal adscripts. Another general treatment of the plays was undertaken by Langen,[47] who, in 1886, discussed the troublesome points of each play under three headings: (1) repetition of thought; (2) discrepancies in subject-matter; (3) spurious and suspected passages. The great value of his work lies in its completeness. Where two versions unquestionably exist, Langen's comprehensive study enables him to decide which is Plautine; and on the other hand he can argue that certain faults which are characteristic of Plautus everywhere are not to be charged to *retractatio*.

In the ten years between Goetz's article and Langen's book students of Plautus produced numerous articles and studies on the individual plays. Many of them made some valuable contributions to our knowledge of *retractatio*, but nearly all went too far in their search for traces of dittography.[48] Within the last ten years there has been a revival of interest in the subject, and a second (and perhaps a more moderate) set of dissertations has appeared.

Recent study of *retractatio* has been more or less closely connected with critical estimates of the manuscripts. Since the time of Ritschl,[49] it had been a generally accepted idea that the two families of manuscripts which we have to-day—A, the Ambrosian Palimpsest, written in rustic capitals and dating probably from the fourth cen-

[47] P. Langen, *Plautinische Studien*, Berlin, 1886.

[48] See, for example: W. Brachmann, *De Bacchidum Plautinae retractatione scaenica*, in *Leipz. Stud.* 3 (1880), pp. 59-187; A. Anspach, *De Bacchidum Plautinae retractatione scaenica*, Bonn, 1882.

[49] Ritschl, Ed. *Trin.* (1848), pp. xxxviii ff.

tury, and P, the Palatine family, consisting of a half dozen minuscule manuscripts—went back to a common archetype; and numerous studies were made to determine which of these families was the more trustworthy.[50] In 1885, in the preface to his edition of Plautus,[51] Leo stated a theory (more fully developed later[52]) which has given the impetus to much of the recent work on the manuscript question. The theory is: that our two families of manuscripts, A and P, represent reading copies of an edition of the twenty-one plays made by Probus (a grammarian of the Flavian period) or his school. Both this edition and the first published edition of Plautus, in the age of Lucilius and Accius, were made on Alexandrian principles—*i. e.*, everything in the sources was preserved in the text, and critical symbols indicated spuriousness or referred to notes in the commentary. The variant readings and parallel versions in our manuscripts accordingly owe their preservation to the grammatical work of these two periods. The last point was disputed by Seyffert. He had evidently been collecting material to support his theory of marginal variants during the twenty years that had elapsed since the publication of his *Studia Plautina*.[53] He now took as a starting point Leo's remark[54] that the repetition of *Men.* 1037-1043, in slightly different form, between l. 1028 and l. 1029, was due to a grammarian of the second or third

[50] Such as M. Niemeyer, *De Plauti fabularum recensione duplici*, Berlin, 1877; B. Baier, *De Plauti fabularum recensionibus Ambrosiana et Palatina commentatio critica*, Breslau, 1885.

[51] Leo, Ed. (1885), Praef.

[52] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, pp. 1-53; *Plaut. Cant.*, pp. 5 ff.

[53] E. A. Sonnenschein in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.* 24 (1893), p. 7, quotes Seyffert "in a private communication" on this question.

[54] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, pp. 15, 16.

century, who copied this version into the margin of his manuscript. Seyffert [55] questioned Leo's statement, and, with a wealth of suggestion and illustration, advanced the contrary theory: that the variant in question appeared in the common ancestor of A and P, and that at least a considerable number of the differences between our two recensions can be traced back, not to the activity of grammarians, but to marginal or interlinear variants in the archetype.

Leo's theory was again attacked by Lindsay, who devoted his "Ancient Editions of Plautus" [56] to a statement of his own views. According to Lindsay, the text-tradition of Plautus followed after his death "two main divergent channels," "the one adhering to the genuine 'ipsa verba' of the poet, the other exhibiting all the alterations, curtailments, or amplifications introduced by the stage-managers of the Revival time in order to make the performance pleasing to the audience of the day." There was a certain amount of "mixture" of these two versions, and of addition from grammarians and commentators, but in general the Ambrosian Palimpsest represents the first of these traditions, the genuine "ipsa verba" of the plays, and the Palatine text shows the "Revival" adaptations.

This view, "conservative" and "optimistic" as Lindsay thought it, has aroused much opposition. The Italian reviewer [57] who criticized the book found himself "pienamente d'accordo" with the views expressed there, but English and German critics have treated it less kindly.

[55] Seyffert in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 16 (1896), coll. 252-255; 283-288.

[56] Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus*, Oxford, 1904, especially pp. 35-37; 142-150.

[57] Aurelio-Giuseppe Amatucci in *Riv. di Fil.* 34 (1906), pp. 605-608.

Leo [58] thinks that Lindsay has too little regard for the views of other scholars on the passages which he discusses, and is too anxious to find "stage alterations" wherever P differs from A, even in single words. "Und wenn man Lindsay recht geben will," he concludes, "dass meistens A die ursprüngliche Lesart bietet, so folgt damit doch nichts für seine Hypothese, dass A in ungebrochener Linie auf Plautus, P in eben so ungebrochener Linie auf die gleich nach Plautus eingetretene Überarbeitung zurückgehe." And Sonnenschein [59] puts his opinion concisely: "Mr. Lindsay's conception of the independence of the two recensions from so early a date will not, I think, be found to hold water." [60]

One class of difficulties still remains, a class which is found to a greater or less extent in all classical authors, and which may therefore be briefly dismissed. This kind of alteration, which goes by the name of *interpolatio*, originates later than any of the others, and is due chiefly to the work of grammarians and commentators. It often arises through the addition in the margin of a parallel passage from some other play, which in the course of time is taken into the text. The earlier stage of this process appears in the manuscript B. *Curc.* II., 1 is concerned with the physical condition of the *leno* Cappadox. In the margin opposite ll. 222, 223 (though apparently intended as an adscript to the phrase *oculis herbeis* in l. 231) are the words:

[58] Leo in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 166 (1904), pp. 358-374.

[59] Sonnenschein in *Class. Rev.* 19 (1905), pp. 311-316.

[60] One great objection to Lindsay's theory, the existence of a large number of common errors in A and P, was emphasized by Leo (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1904. pp. 364 ff.), and has since been investigated in detail by Eugen Sicker (*Philol.* Suppl.-Band. XI. (1908). pp. 179-252).

solent tibi oculi duri fieri
censesne locustam esse,

and opposite ll. 242, 243:

album atrum vinum potas
quid tibi quaesito opus est.

Both couplets are confused versions of lines from *Men.* v., 5 (923-924; 915 ff.), the scene in which the physician is examining Menaechmus I. for symptoms of insanity; and Ritschl[61] thinks it probable that they were set down as parallels for the similar scene in the *Curculio*. So *Stich.* 722

Quid igitur? quamquam gravatus fuisti, non nocuit tamen

seems to have been added as a parallel to l. 763 *gravate*, and then to have been copied into the text after l. 766.[62]

In the same way, a gloss on a single word or the explanation of a difficult phrase may be added between the lines or in the margin, and so creep into the text. This accounts for some extra lines and some divergence of tradition in our manuscripts. *Poen.* 1020

Ut hortum fodiat atque ut frumentum metat

is apparently an explanation of *palus* and *mergas* two lines above; and *Pers.* 321 *rogasti* P (for *orasti* A);[63] 408 *periure* A (for *iniure* P and Nonius); *Poen.* 342 *occulto* A (for *abstruso* P) all seem to be glosses.

We are indebted to Ritschl for clearing away many of these intrusions into our text, and in particular for point-

[61] Ritschl in *Philol.* 1 (1846), pp. 300 ff. (= *Opusc.* II., pp. 274 ff.)
[62] Ritschl in *Philol.* 1 (1846), p. 305 (= Opusc. II., p. 281).
[63] Cf. Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 73.

ing out how often the citation of a parallel passage might cause confusion.[64] Goetz, in his discussion of *Dittographien im Plautustexte*,[65] and Kellermann in the article entitled *De Plauto Sui Imitatore*,[66] made similar studies, but in each of these the work on *interpolatio* was simply a preliminary to the main investigation.

The century of philological work on Plautus, the course of which has just been outlined, makes it possible to summarize the causes of difficulty and inconsistency in the plays as follows: (1) free treatment by Plautus of his Greek originals, resulting in omissions or in the combination of two originals into one Latin play; (2) Plautine carelessness in detail;[67] (3) changes in the text made during the Revival, a generation after the death of Plautus; and (4) parallel adscripts, explanations, and glosses, added by later scribes.

The mass of difficulties grouped under the third head of this summary (*retractatio*) forms the subject of the present investigation. An effort has been made first of all to determine whether the two great families of manu-

[64] Ritschl in *Philol.* 1 (1846), pp. 300-314 (= *Opusc.* II., pp. 274-291).

[65] Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 236 ff.

[66] Kellerman in *Comm. phil. Jen.* 7 (1903), pp. 131 ff.

[67] Inconsistencies due to the first two causes are traceable to Plautus himself. Further back than Plautus it is almost impossible to go. But as the charm of Menander shows through even the mutilated *Cistellaria*, so it is possible that a few of the defects in Plautus may be referred to his Greek models. Wilamowitz (*Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, pp. 13 ff.) has made it probable that the poor technique and crude character-drawing of the *Persa* go back to an original in Middle Comedy, and it may be that Acts I.-III. of the *Poenulus*, which are distinctly poorer than the other half of the play, merely reflect the weakness and verbosity of the Greek original. (See the analysis below).

scripts differ in the amount of *retractatio* that they indicate, and secondarily to throw new light on the general problem of *retractatio*. Since the two groups of manuscripts can be compared only where it is possible to know the contents of the Ambrosian Palimpsest, the work is limited to the five plays best preserved in that manuscript (*Persa*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Stichus*, *Trinummus*), and primarily to those portions of the plays the text of which is contained in both A and P. Except in cases where the source of the confusion is doubtful, difficulties due to other causes than *retractatio* are excluded. Of the passages suspected of *retractatio*, only those in which its presence seems fairly probable are discussed; others, which can lead only to questionable conclusions, are listed in footnotes.[68] Citations are made from the Goetz-Schoell text of Plautus (*Editio Minor*),[69] and Studemund's *Apographon*[70] is taken as the basis of the work on A.

Mention has already been made of the two families of manuscripts on which our text of Plautus is based. A fuller description is a necessary preliminary to an investigation which must constantly refer to the manuscripts. Until the early part of the nineteenth century, only one of these families, the Palatine, was known. This group, which received its name from the fact that

[68] Variations of a word or phrase are not considered. Of course some of these may be due to *retractatio* (*e. g.*, *Pers.* 597 *me inpulsore atque inlice* A, *suasu atque inpulsu meo* P; *Poen.* 343 *palpas et lallas* A, *caput et corpus copulas* P); but the majority of cases are probably to be assigned to scribal error or interpolation.

[69] G. Goetz and F. Schoell, *Plauti Comoediae*, Leipzig, 1892-1896 (revised 1904-1909).

[70] W. Studemund, *T. Macci Plauti Fabularum Reliquiae Ambrosianae*, Berlin, 1889.

its most important representatives, B and C, were at one time in the library of the Elector Palatine, comprises six or seven manuscripts, ranging in date from the early tenth to the late twelfth century. Though the manuscripts vary greatly in authority, their common origin is a recognized fact.[71] Therefore, for the purposes of this paper, variations between the individual manuscripts are disregarded, and the whole family is designated by the symbol P.

Of the other family of manuscripts there is only one representative, a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, written about the fourth century, and covered in the seventh or eighth century with parts of the Book of Kings. It was discovered by Cardinal Mai, under whose direction an imperfect collation was published in 1815 with the title *M. Accii Plauti Fragmenta Inedita*. Even at that time the manuscript was in a bad condition. Some leaves were lost altogether, and those that remained had been injured by the cleaning process, by the ink of the second writing, and by the chemicals that Mai used to restore the original text. With careless handling and with the passage of time, some of the pages were torn, and others decayed so as to leave only a border around the edge, while the ink gradually faded. Ritschl, writing in 1837,[72] lamented the loss of some passages (*e. g.*, in the *Cistellaria*), which could have been read when the palimpsest was first discovered, and censured Mai for not having published a complete collation at

[71] See the *stemma codicum* in Ritschl's edition of the *Trinummus* (1848), and the discussions in more recent critical editions—*e. g.*, Lindsay's edition of the *Captivi*, London, 1900.

[72] Ritschl in *Zeitschrift f. Altertumswiss.* 1837, coll. 737-758 (= *Opusc.* II., pp. 166-197).

that time; and Geppert found in 1846 [73] that much that had been visible even the year before had faded away. Studemund, "that scholar-hero," as Sonnenschein calls him,[74] spent the greater part of twenty-five years in deciphering the palimpsest,[75] only to die before his results were given to the world. They were brought out by his friend Oskar Seyffert, and are now accessible to the student of Plautus, in a form which is of infinitely more value to him than the manuscript itself would be.

Fortunately, even the smallest fragments are of value for the study of *retractatio*. A few letters at the beginning or end of the lines, even where all the rest of the passage is gone, show whether or not a certain passage appeared in A, and what was the order of the lines. Even the contents of a missing sheet may sometimes be estimated accurately. Difficulty arises when the missing section contained a *canticum*, in which case there can be no certainty as to how the lines were divided, or unusually long verses, like trochaic *septenarii* or iambic *octonarii*, which are run over in varying proportions, sometimes only one line out of thirty-five, sometimes three lines out of four. Passages containing scene-headings also cause difficulty. In general, the scene-division [76] of A corresponds to that of our printed texts; but sometimes, (*e. g.*, *Pseud.* IV., 5, 6) two scenes are run together under the same rubric, and sometimes (*e. g.*, *Pers.* IV., 7), where a single character leaves the stage, there is no

[73] K. Geppert, *Über den Codex Ambrosianus u. seinen Einfluss auf die plautinische Kritik*, Leipzig, 1847, p. 28.

[74] Sonnenschein in *Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.* 24 (1893), p. 10.

[75] W. Studemund, *T. Macci Plauti Fabularum Reliquiae Ambrosianae*, Berlin, 1889 (Edited by O. Seyffert). Prooem., p. xxii., Seyffert's note.

[76] There is no division into *acts* in any of the manuscripts.

new scene-heading. On the other hand, A leaves a space of one line before the speech of the *Caterva* (*Capt.* 1029), and makes a similar break at the entrance of Saturio (*Pers.* 726). The amount of space left for the scene-headings is not always the same. In about 75 per cent of the cases extant the scene-headings occupy two lines, but the exceptions occur so irregularly that one can never be sure how much space was occupied by the missing headings. In the present paper, calculation of the amount of text in lost sheets of A is for the most part confined to continuous passages of trimeter without scene-divisions. Even here, of course, the results are not absolutely certain: in other places, though the calculation has occasionally been made, it has even slighter claims to accuracy.

CHAPTER I.

PERSA

The hero of the *Persa* is a slave, Toxilus, who holds a position of trust in his master's household, and has been left in charge during the master's absence. Toxilus is in love with Lemniselenis, a girl in the service of the *leno* Dordalus, and is anxious to obtain her freedom. But as he himself, being a slave, can neither purchase another slave nor be *patronus* of a freedwoman, he arranges with Dordalus that on a certain day he shall pay the required sum of money, and that Dordalus shall then go through the form necessary to set her free.[1] The day approaches, and Toxilus has not succeeded in getting the money. He therefore persuades his friend Sagaristio, who is likewise a slave, to lend him six hundred *nummi*, promising to repay him in a few days. Sagaristio provides the sum in question by appropriating funds given him by his master for the purchase of cattle; the money is paid, and Lemniselenis is set free. In the meantime, Toxilus has arranged another scheme to make the *leno* himself pay back the sum that has been borrowed from Sagaristio. The daughter of the parasite Saturio is dressed up as if she came from the Far East; Sagaristio puts on Persian garb, and is introduced to Dordalus as a messenger from Toxilus' master, who has an Arabian girl for sale. Dordalus sees the girl, is so charmed with her that he is willing to make the purchase *suo periculo*.

[1] Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, p. 18.

and pays the exorbitant sum of sixty *minae* [2] on the spot. Of course the natural sequel follows. As soon as the pseudo-Persian is out of the way, the father of the girl appears and threatens a law-suit; and the play ends with an uproarious banquet of Toxilus, Sagaristio, and Lemniselenis.

The *Persa* stands alone among the plays of Plautus in showing indications of an original in Middle Comedy. Wilamowitz [3] was the first scholar to suggest this date for the original of the play, and his theory, which has been accepted by Seyffert,[4] Hueffner,[5] and Leo,[6] seems to be well established, in spite of a recent attempt to combat it.[7] Wilamowitz's strongest argument is that the play represents the Persian Empire as still intact. The story of a messenger who comes *ex Persia* (l. 498), with news of the capture of Chrysopolis in Arabia by the Persians, points to a date before the conquests of Alexander. For, while it is true that the account of the Persian campaign makes no pretensions to truthfulness,[8] still the Athenian public must have demanded a certain amount of verisimilitude, and a story in which Persians figured as the chief actors would have had no point after the downfall of the Persian Empire. Therefore we may

[2] The regular price was twenty or thirty *minae*. Cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* II., p. 308, note.

[3] Wilamowitz in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, pp. 13-26.

[4] Seyffert in Bursian's *Jahresber.* 1895, pp. 39 ff.

[5] F. Hueffner, *De Plauti Comoediarum Exemplis Atticis*, Göttingen, 1894, pp. 70 f.; 74-76.

[6] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 110; cf. Leo in *Hermes* 41 (1906), pp. 441 ff.

[7] M. Meyer, *De Plauti Persa*, in *Comm. phil. Jen.* 8 (1907), pp. 145-191.

[8] Cf. Meyer, *De Plauti Persa*, pp. 181 ff.

assume that the original of the *Persa* was a Greek play of the age of Demosthenes.

To the unfinished technique of the Greek original may be due certain defects in the plot and the character-drawing of the *Persa*. The exceptional subject-matter of the play attracted the attention of Camerarius, who commented on it: "Argumentum fabulae est exile, amationis servilis." Although *servilis amatio* is touched upon in some of the other plays (*Amph.* 658; *Mil.* 1007-1008; *Stich.* 431-434), there is no other play in which the love of a slave forms the main theme.[9] But this *argumentum exile* may be merely another indication that the play originated in Middle Comedy. Slaves are prominent in several of the earlier plays of Aristophanes (we remember Dionysus and Xanthias in the *Frogs*, the Paphlagonian and his rival in the *Knights*); and in the *Plutus*, which stands on the border-line between Old and Middle Comedy, the slave Carion is one of the most important figures. It would have been only natural, therefore, if this tradition had continued and slaves had played an active part in the plots of Middle Comedy.[10]

The composition of the *Persa* is poor, although the theory of *contaminatio*, suggested by Ladewig[11] and discussed at length by van Ijsendijk,[12] has not been proved. Van Ijsendijk thought that the *Persa* was made up of two plays: (A) the *Persa* (our present Acts IV.-V.), in which a free-born girl is put through a form of sale.

[9] Meyer, *De Plauti Persa*, p. 152.

[10] W. Süss in *Rhein. Mus.* 65 (1910), p. 456; cf. Wilamowitz in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, pp. 18 ff.

[11] Ladewig, *Über den Kanon des Volcatius Sedigitus*, Neustrelitz, 1842, pp. 38 ff.

[12] A. van Ijsendijk, *De T. Macci Plauti Persa*, Utrecht, 1884.

and with the proceeds of this sale a lover gets his *amica;* (B) the *Boaria* or *Sagaristio,* in which a slave steals the money given him by his master to buy cattle, and so helps the *erilis filius* to get his *amica* free. But, as van Ijsendijk's critics have observed,[13] the two lines of action start together, and are connected throughout the play; and the whole object of the pretended sale is to get the *leno* to pay for Lemniselenis with *his own* money, and so repay the loan of Sagaristio. Anyone who is not convinced of the unity of the *Persa* need only compare it with one of the certainly contaminated plays (*Miles* or *Poenulus*). The length of the *Persa* is only 857 lines, while each of the others has 1400 lines or more; and the two threads of the story are closely interwoven here, while in the others the two plots are quite distinct, and the line of division clearly marked.

The banquet scene at the close is only loosely connected with the rest of the play, but there is no reason for suspecting a separate origin. The persons involved are the same as in the earlier scenes, and their conduct is quite consistent; Paegnium, for instance, shows himself just the same merry wag in Act V. as he was in Act II. To one who remembers the festivities with which Aristophanes ends his plays—the banquet spread for Dicaeopolis, the weddings of Peisthetairus and Trygaeus—the last act of the *Persa* will sound a familiar note; and the discomfiture of the *leno* in the final scene will seem closely akin to the horseplay of the Old Comedy.[14]

[13] Seyffert in Bursian's *Jahresber.* 1886, pp. 111 f.; Meyer, *De Plauti Persa,* pp. 159 ff.

[14] Wilamowitz in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, pp. 22 f.; Süss in *Rhein. Mus.* 65 (1910), p. 456.

The character-drawing shows the broad lines of the Old Comedy rather than the finer touches of the New. The *leno* Dordalus, stupid and gullible to the last degree, is not far removed from some of the exaggerated figures of Aristophanes. The daughter of Saturio, too, with her elevated diction and her rhetorical sentences, may reflect the technique of the transitional period, when a free-born woman was as yet an unfamiliar figure on the comic stage, and the playwright had to borrow some touches from the heroines of tragedy.[15]

TO. Cape hóc sis. DO. Quin das? TO. Númmi sexcenti híc erunt 437
Probí, numerati: fác sit mulier líbera,
Atque húc continuo addúce. DO. Iam faxo híc erit.
Non hércle quoi nunc hóc dem spectandúm scio. 440
TO. Fortásse metuis ín manum concrédere?
†Mirúm quin citius iam á foro argentárii
Abeúnt quam in cursu rótula circumuórtitur.
Abi istác trauorsis ángiportis ád forum:
Eadem ísta[ha]ec facito múlier ad me tránseat 445
Per hórtum. DO. Iam hic faxo áderit. TO. At ne própalam.
DO. Sapiénter sane. TO. Súpplicatum crás eat
DO. Ita hércle uero. TO. Dúm stas, reditum opórtuit.

440 ff. The difficulties of this passage have puzzled scholars for the last hundred years, and the number of explanations is almost equal to the number of writers on the subject. The dialogue runs quite smoothly down to l. 439; then Dordalus says (l. 440), evidently referring to the money that Toxilus has just paid: *Non hercle quoi nunc hoc dem spectandum scio—i. e., spectandum, utrum probum sit necne.*[16] Toxilus' reply (l. 441): *Fortasse*

[15] Wilamowitz in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894. pp. 25 f.
[16] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 334.

metuis in manum concredere, is disjointed and hardly intelligible, since it lacks both direct object and dative of the person with *in manum concredere.* The couplet which follows (ll. 442-443) bears a striking resemblance to ll. 433-436:

DO. Mirûm quin tibi ego créderem | ut idém mihi 433
Facerés quod pártim fáciunt argentárii:
Ubi quíd credideris, cítius extempló foro
Fugiúnt quam ex porta lúdis quom emissúst lepus,

but it has no grammatical construction and no logical connection with the rest of the dialogue. Then (ll. 444-448) come certain directions about the freeing of Lemniselenis.

Out of the tangle we can separate ll. 442-443, which are clearly a fragmentary parallel version (probably with a line lost between *quin* and *citius*) of ll. 433-436. The first version, a comparison of the money-changers to a hare at the games, may be Plautine, since we know of the use of animals in the games before the death of Plautus. (*Liv.* 39, 22 tells of a *venatio data leonum et pantherum* in the year 186 B. C.) This reference is paralleled by one to the ostrich in an earlier scene (l. 199 *marinus passer per circum*), and the two together make it probable that there was a keen interest in *venationes* at the time that the play was produced. The second simile (ll. 442-443), which is much more general, may have been added after this interest had declined.

With this intrusive couplet removed, it is possible to trace a certain connection in the dialogue. Toxilus pays the money, saying, " Set the woman free, and then bring her to me immediately." Dordalus murmurs, half to himself, as he examines the money, " How am I to know

whether this is good or not?" and Toxilus adds, seeing his hesitation, "Are you afraid to hand her over to me?"[17] Then he goes on rapidly: "Take this side street to the forum; [have your money tested and set her free]; then bring her back secretly by the same path. [I want her company to-day myself]; to-morrow she may go to sacrifice for her liberation." But even so there is much that is not clear. We do not quite get the force of *metuis . . . concredere;* no explanation is given for the injunction to secrecy (ll. 444-446); and the reason why the sacrifice is to be postponed until the morrow must be inferred.

It seems probable that the end of this scene, like a later section (ll. 738 ff.), has suffered considerable cutting, which has left only the bare essentials of the dialogue, without the necessary connection. If this is so, we may put down ll. 442-443 as a parallel version of ll. 433-436, and say that ll. 440-441, 444-448 are a shortened version of a scene now lost.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.

A agrees with P through l. 443, then *deest* 444-478 (35 lines of *senarius*). The passage contains three scene-headings, which, if given in the regular form, would have occupied 6 lines more, making a total of 41 lines. The one sheet missing in A would have given space for only 38 lines in all. But it is possible that some of the headings were missing in A (Cf. IV., 9, where A makes no division), or that the scene-headings occupied only one line each (Cf. III., 2;

[17] The object of the verb has commonly been taken as *argentum*, but there is no reason why *mulierem* should not be supplied from l. 438. It is the woman who is Toxilus' great concern at this point (Cf. ll. 438, 445, 447.) The use of *concredere* with a person as the direct object is supported by *Capt.* 348 (*filium*); *Cist.* 245 (*amicam*); and *manus* in the technical sense of the power of a man over the women of his household is too well known to need comment.

III., 3 in A.[18] In any case, A has ll. 442-443, which are the most suspicious verses.

TO. Sagarístio, heus, exi átque educe uírginem
Et istás tabellas quás consignauí tibi, 460
Quas tu áttulisti mi áb ero meo usque e Pérsia.

460-461. This couplet seems to be a later insertion, introduced to prepare the audience for the sudden appearance of the letter in l. 497. No mention has been made of this letter in the previous plans of Toxilus,[19] and when the trick is finally played on Dordalus, it is not Sagaristio, but Toxilus himself, who hands over the tablet (l. 497). The two lines are an awkward addition after l. 459, and the dependence of *tabellas* upon *educere* is unparalleled.[20]

A *deest.*

TO. Age illúc apscede prócul e conspectú: [SA.] tace. 467
Vbi cúm lenone mé uidebis cónloqui,
Id erít adeundi témpus. nunc agérite uos.

467-468. These verses are identical with 727-728, and must therefore be regarded with suspicion in one of the two places. Some connecting link is necessary between IV., 2 and IV., 3, and we must either retain 467-

[18] The latter explanation is suggested by Studemund. See his note on fol. 575v.

[19] A discussion of all the details of the plan was of course not necessary. The trick is perfectly clear without a previous mention of the letter, as is the similar trick in *Bacch.* IV., 9, where l. 941 is the only preparation for the presentation of the letter in ll. 997 ff.

[20] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 178.

468 or assume that these verses have crowded out other directions to Sagaristio.

A *deest*.

DO. Iúbedum ea hoc accédat ad me. SA. I sáne ac morem illí gere 605
Pércontare, exquíre quiduis. TO. Age, age nunc tu: in proélium
Víde ut ingrediare aúspicato. VI. Líquidumst auspiciúm: tace.
Cúrabo, ut praedáti pulcre ad cástra conuortámini.
TO. Cóncede istuc: égo illam adducam. DO. Age, út rem esse in nostrám putas.
TO. Éhodum huc, uirgo. uíde sis quid agas. VI. Táceas: curabo út uoles. 610

605-610. The reader who tries to imagine the stage "business" of this part of the play finds himself in difficulty. Dordalus has expressed a wish to question the girl, and the pseudo-Persian Sagaristio has given his permission (ll. 605-606). Then Toxilus speaks ll. 606 f. (*Age, age nunc tu: in proelium vide ut ingrediare auspicato*) to the girl, and she replies in a low tone. But in the very next line Toxilus is saying to Dordalus, *Concede istuc; ego illam adducam*. His next speech, an aside to the girl, and her reply (609-610) repeat the sense of ll. 606-608, and have in several places identical phrasing (607 *vide*, cf. 610 *vide;* 607 *tace*, cf. 610 *taceas;* 608 *curabo*, cf. 610 *curabo*). Clearly we have here two alternative versions (605-608; 609-610), of which the first is the cleverer and therefore probably the genuine.[21]

A has 605-610 in the order in which they appear in the Goetz-Schoell text.

P. omits 608, 610 (*i. e.*, one line of each version).

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[21] Cf. J. H. Gray in *Class. Rev.* 14 (1900), p. 24.

DO. Tóxile, quid agó? TO. Di deaeque te ágitant iratí. [et] scelus, 666
Qui hâ<n>c non properes déstinare. DO. †Habeto. TO. Eu, praedatu's probe: abi, argentum ecfer huc.
Nón edepol minís trecentis cárast: fecistí lucri.
SA. Heús tu, etiam pro uéstimentis húc decem accedént minae.
DO. Ábscedent enim, nón accedent. TO. Táce sis: non tu illúm uides 670
Quaérere ansam, infectum ut faciat? ábisne atque argentúm petis?
* * * * * * * * atque ut dignúst perit. 671[b]
DO. Heús tu, serua istúm. TO. Quin tu intro is? DO. Ábeo atque argentum ádfero.

666 ff. A shortening of the scene seems to be indicated by the half-line *abi, argentum ecfer huc*, which is appended to l. 667 in P. Apparently this phrase was substituted for *eu, praedatu's probe* (l. 667),[22] with the result that the Palatine manuscripts have retained both endings, while in A the line ending <*eu praedatu's*> *probe* appears just before l. 669. There are further signs of change at the very end of the scene. The fragment of a line *atque ut dignust perit* (671[b]), which is preserved only in A, seems to belong to a bit of comment after the *leno*'s departure, and is hardly suitable before l. 672.[23] To the first half of this fragmentary line may belong the adverb *interibi*, cited by the *Glossarium Plautinum* from some point in the *Persa* between l. 588 and l. 677, but not to be found in our present text.[24] It is quite possible, therefore, that we have here traces of some such shortening as this:

[22] Cf. Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

[23] Cf. Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

[24] The strictness with which the author of the glossary follows the order of lines in the text of Plautus makes it improbable that *interibi* in this position refers to l. 165 of the play. Cf. Ritschl, *Opusc.* II., pp. 266 ff.; Schoell, Ed. (1892), Praef., p. xx.

667. DO. Habeto. TO. Abi, argentum ecfer huc.
671[b] (Schoell's supplement) DO. Interibi opperire. SA. Aegre avidus abit atque ut dignust perit.

A is very illegible at this point. The end of 665 is preserved, and then follows a space of three lines, which may have contained 666 and 667, the latter divided so as to take up two lines. After this it has a line ending *probe*, and then the ends of 669-671, 671[b], 672. So A apparently omitted 668, and added 671[b], which does not occur in P.

P has 667 in the form - - - *habeto, eu praedatus probe. abi argentum ecfer huc.* and omits 671[b].

Vaníloquidorus Vírginisuendónides 702
† Nugiepiloquides Árgentumextenebrónides
Tedígniloquides Núммosexpalpónides
Quodsémelarripides Númquameripides: ém tibi. 705

704. The absurd patronymics of l. 704, which mean either: "Talk-to-you-as-you-deserve-son, Nonsense-son, Flatter-son," or "Talk-to-you-as-you-deserve-son, Flatter-money-out-of-you-son," according as we follow the reading of A or P, repeat the sense of the preceding line: "Talk-nonsense-to-you-son. Bore-your-money-out-of-you-son."[25] The line may have been substituted to expand the joke.

The line appears in both A and P, though A reads *nugidespalpopides*, and P *eundesexpalponides*.

DO. Immo equidem grátiam 719
Tibi. Tóxile, habeo: nám te sensi sédulo
Mihi dáre bonam operam. TO. Tíbine ego? immo † sedulo.
DO. Attát, oblitus sum íntus dudum edícere
Quae uólui edicta, adsérua hanc. TO. Saluast haéc quidem.
VI. Patér nunc cessat. TO. Quíd si admoneam? VI. Témpus est.

[25] Cf. Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

TO. Heus, Sáturio, exi. núnc est illa occásio
Inimícum ulcísci. SA. Ecce me: numquíd moror?
TO. Age illúc abscede prócul e conspectú: tace.
Vbi cúm lenone mé uidebis cónloqui,
Tum túrbam facito. SA. Dictum sapientí sat est.
TO. Tunc, quándo abiero — ⟨SA.⟩ Quín taces? scio quíd uelis.

DORDALVS. TOXILVS. VIRGO.
LENO SERVOS

DO. Transcídi loris ómnis aduenién̄s domi:
Ita míhi supellex squálet atque aedés meae.
TO. Redís tu tandem? DO. Rédeo. TO. Ne ego hodié tibi
Bona múlta feci. DO. Fáteor: habeo grátiam.

722 ff. Much has been written about the defects of the play at this point.[26] It is strange that Dordalus should go off the stage immediately after he has purchased the supposed Persian girl, and should leave her in the care of Toxilus, instead of taking her inside the house with him; even more strange that he should reappear six lines later, announcing (l. 731), *Transcidi loris omnis adveniens domi.* In the meantime, Saturio has emerged from his hiding-place and has been given some brief and quite inapposite directions about the line of action to follow when the *leno* returns. Two verses of this dialogue (727-728) repeat a couplet earlier in the play (467-468). Of the remaining lines, several show the stock phrases of comedy (726 *numquid moror,* cf. l. 462; 729 *dictum sapienti sat est,* cf. Ter. *Phorm.* 541; 734 *bona multa feci,* cf. l. 263). Immediately after the return of Dordalus (l. 734) the conversation goes back to the subject under discussion before he left (l. 721); and the dozen lines intervening seem to have no purpose

[26] Cf. especially Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 300 f.; Wilamowitz in *Index schol. Gött.* 1893-1894, p. 21; Meyer, *De Plauti Persa,* pp. 172 ff.

but to prepare for the entrance of Saturio at l. 738.[27] But the plan had been that Saturio should appear suddenly (cf. ll. 162-164), and his opening lines suit a first appearance. Therefore ll. 722-734 are probably a later addition.

A has the whole passage.
P. omits l. 730.

SA. Nisi égo illun<c> hominem pérdo, perii. atque óptume
Eccum ípsum ante aedes. VI. Sálue multum, mí pater.
SA. Salué, mea gnata. DO. Ei, Pérsa me pessúm dedit.
VI. Pater híc meus est. DO. Hem, quíd? pater? perii óppido.
Quid ego ígitur cesso infélix lamentárier
Minás sexaginta? SA. Égo pol te faciám, scelus,
Te quóque etiam ipsum ut lámenteris. DO. Óccidi.
SA. Age ámbula in ius, léno. DO. Quid me in iús uocas?
SA. Illi[c] ápud praetorem dícam: sed ego in iús uoco.
DO. Nonne ántestaris? SA. Tuán ego causa, cárnufex,
Quoiquám mortali líbero auris átteram,
Qui hic cómmerearis cíuis homines líberos?
DO. Sine dícam. SA. Nolo. DO. Aúdi. SA. Surdus sum: ámbula.
Sequere hác, sceleste, féles uirginária.
Sequere hác, mea gnata, me úsque ad praetorém. VI. Sequor.

738 *ff.* Ritschl[28] observed that the movement of the play after the close of IV., 8 was very hurried, and other editors have agreed with him. In particular, IV., 9 seems to have suffered from shortening. The discovery of the pseudo-Persian girl's identity is made far too quickly (ll. 739-740), and the question of Dordalus: *Hem, quid? pater?* (l. 741) is absurd after ll. 739-740. Saturio, his daughter, and Dordalus, are suddenly dismissed from the stage, and we hear nothing of what takes place between them in the forum. Then, too, we are puzzled

[27] Meyer, *De Plauti Persa*, p. 174.
[28] Ritschl, Ed. (1853), Praef., p. ix.

by the fact that the parasite, whose sole object in undertaking the deceit of the *leno* has been to provide himself with a dinner (ll. 140-147; 329 ff.), does not appear at the banquet in Act V., while Dordalus, who left to defend himself before the praetor (l. 752), re-enters at l. 778. The difficulties are explained if we suppose that IV., 9 is the shortened form of a scene in which the *leno* plead for mercy and finally, by the offer of a sum of money, induced Saturio to drop his legal proceedings, take the money and his daughter, and go home.[29]

A and P have 738-741 in the same form. Then A *deest* to the end of the play.

The *Persa* offers comparatively slight evidence for the changes of the Plautine Revival. There are a few instances of parallel versions—ll. 433-436, 442-443; 605-608, 609-610; 703, 704. An attempt to bring the scene to a close seems to be indicated by the confusion in the manuscripts after l. 666. The play as a whole is noticeably short, and the dialogue in two of the scenes (ll. 440-448; 738-752) is so hurried and disconnected that we are justified in assuming a shortening in which the original version was lost. On the other hand, there are a few places (ll. 722-734, and possibly 460-461), where an insertion seems to have been made in order to prepare for a later scene.[30]

[29] Meyer, *De Plauti Persa*, pp. 177 ff.

[30] In addition to the passages discussed in detail, the following lines have been suspected: 60, 240, 280-295, 453-454, 562, 673-682, 694-699, 833-851.

Of these lines, A is missing for 60, 240, 453-454, 833-851. Both A and P have 280-295 (except that P transposes 293, 294), 562, 673-682, 694-699.

The following lines show minor variations: 399, 485, 498, 500, 515-516, 574, 597.

The indications of change are not confined to the Palatine manuscripts. A has the beginnings of the two shortened scenes (ll. 440 ff.; 738 ff.) in the same form as P, and probably contained the whole. On the other hand, there are three passages in which A and P alike show traces of *retractatio*, but A has preserved a larger number of the suspicious lines. Far from showing the purer text, therefore, A gives all the later versions that P gives, and has some of them in fuller form.

CHAPTER II.

POENULUS

The *Poenulus* tells the story of two sisters in the service of the *leno* Lycus, who gain their freedom through Agorastocles, the lover of the elder girl, and his slave Milphio. In the first scene, Milphio evolves a scheme which he promises will give Agorastocles not only his sweetheart, but the whole household of the *leno* as well. The *vilicus* of Agorastocles, who happens to be in the city, and who is a stranger to Lycus, is to be dressed up as a foreign soldier and sent to the *leno* with a request for an evening's pleasure. Then Agorastocles is to appear and demand his slave, and, upon the *leno*'s denial of all knowledge of the slave, Agorastocles is to drag him off to court. This plan is carried out with the help of *advocati* from the forum, who introduce the newcomer to Lycus and witness the whole proceeding. But Milphio, the author of the scheme, disappears from the action, and the proposed law-suit never takes place. Instead, Milphio enters at the beginning of Act IV., raging against the *leno* and threatening his destruction, as if Acts I.-III. had no existence. He learns from the slave of Lycus that the sweetheart of Agorastocles and her sister are really free-born Carthaginians, and, knowing that his young master is also Carthaginian by birth, he confidently plans their release. Just at this moment the Carthaginian Hanno appears, on a search for his two daughters and his nephew, all of whom were stolen away as children. The nephew is discovered to be Agorastocles, the adopted son of Han-

no's old guest-friend. Milphio then proposes that Hanno aid in outwitting the *leno* and obtaining the freedom of the two girls by pretending that they are his daughters. The fiction proves to be only too true, and the happy father promises the hand of his elder daughter to her lover. When the *leno* returns, desperate over the ruin that has already come upon him, he finds three-fold vengeance waiting at the hands of Hanno, Agorastocles, and the soldier to whom he had promised the younger girl.

Even this hasty sketch is sufficient to show the break between Act III. and Act IV., and the repetition in the two plots against the *leno*. A more detailed study of the play brings out other difficulties. The first act presents the two girls as *meretrices* of the ordinary sort, who are already familiar with their calling (cf. especially ll. 233-236; 265-270); in the last act, they are represented as entering upon their profession on the very day that the play opens (ll. 1139-1140), and their conversation is full of sentiments befitting their noble birth (cf. ll. 1185-1186; 1201-1204). In the first half of the play, too, they have no prospect of freedom aside from the lover of the elder sister (ll. 360-363); in the second, the prophecy of good fortune immediately makes them hope for assistance from their parents (l. 1208). We note, too, that, though the prologue gives the scene of the play as Calydon (ll. 72, 94; cf. 1057, 1181), Milphio promises Adelphasium that she shall become *civis Attica* (l. 372).

It is almost certain that the *Poenulus* combines two different plots, one covering roughly the first three acts of the play, and the other the last two. The scene of the first was laid in Athens; that of the second (the

Καρχηδόνιος, of which the plot is given in the prologue) in Calydon. The two originals seems to have had as common elements two sisters in the service of a *leno,* and a festival of Venus, at which the sisters offered acceptable sacrifices, but the offerings of the *leno* were rejected. The two plots are necessarily bound together to some extent, especially at the beginning and the end of the play, but their general outlines can still be recognized. The first presents two Athenian *meretrices,* with the elder of whom a youth is in love. To obtain her freedom, he and his slave play a trick which results in a law-suit and the *leno*'s ruin. In the Καρχηδόνιος, on the other hand, the girls are Carthaginians of noble birth, who are to enter upon their calling on the day that the play begins. Their release comes about through their father, who arrives in Calydon at the proper moment, finds his daughters, and discovers his nephew in the lover of the older girl.

The line of division between the two plots in the *Poenulus* is so clear that it attracted attention comparatively early.[1] Teuffel,[2] noticing the distinctness of the two plots against the *leno,* and the contradiction about the scene of the play, decided: "Beim *Poenulus* läge die Annahme einer Contamination ziemlich nahe, wenn dadurch etwas gewonnen wäre." But Teuffel's hint was not followed up for fully twenty years. Then Reinhardt[3] and Francken[4] studied the composition of the play with

[1] G. Langrehr, *De Plauti Poenulo,* Friedland, 1883, p. 14, says that Rapp was the first to suspect *contaminatio* in the *Poenulus.*

[2] W. Teuffel in *Rhein. Mus.* 8 (1853), pp. 35 ff. (= *Stud. u. Char².,* pp. 337 ff.)

[3] L. Reinhardt in Studemund's *Studien auf d. Gebiete d. archaischen Lateins,* Vol. I. (Berlin, 1873), pp. 109 ff.

[4] C. M. Francken in *Mnem.* 4 (1876), pp. 146-175.

great care. The analyses which they made have been modified and corrected in detail by Langen,[5] Leo,[6] and Karsten,[7] but the main lines of their division still remain unchanged.

Earum hîc adulescens álteram efflictím perit 96
Suam sîbi cognatam inprûdens, neque s⟨e⟩it quaé si⟨e⟩t,
Neque eam úmquam tetigit: íta eum leno mácerat:
(Neque quîcquam cum ea fécit etiamnúm stupri,
Neque dúxit umquam: néque ille uoluit míttere:) 100
Quia amâre cernit, tángere hominem uólt bolo.

99-100. This couplet, which gives the substance of l. 98 in a little fuller form, is probably to be set down to *retractatio.*

A *deest* 1-281.

(Ehem, paéne oblitus sûm relicuom dícere. 118
Ille quí adoptauit húnc pro fîlió sibi
Is ílli Poeno, huiús patri |, hospés fuit.) 120

118-120. These lines may have been added to explain a little more fully the situation indicated in l. 75 *emit hospitalem is filium inprudens senex.* The passage is especially disturbing because it breaks the connection between the subject of the next sentence (l. 121 *is.* or l. 124 *hic*—cf. below) and its antecedent, unquestionably the Carthaginian who has been under discussion in ll. 104-115.

A *deest.*

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[5] Langen. *Plaut. Stud.*. pp. 181 ff.
[6] Leo. *Plaut. Forsch.*. pp. 153 ff.
[7] H. J. Karsten in *Mnem.* 29 (1901). pp. 363-387.

Is hódie huc ueniet rép[p]erietque hic fílias
Et húnc sui fratris fílium, utquidem dídici ego.
Ego íbo, ornabor: uós aequo animo nóscite.
(Hic qui hódie ueniet, rép[p]eriet suas fílias
Et húnc sui fratris fílium. dehinc céterum
Quod réstat, restant álí‹i› qui faciánt palam.
Valéte: adeste. ibo: álius nunc fierí uolo.)
Valéte atque adiuuáte ut uos seruét Salus.

121-128. The close of the prologue undoubtedly contains two versions. There is almost exact verbal repetition in ll. 121-122 and 124-125; two announcements are made of the speaker's proposed change of dress (123; 127); and the farewell to the audience is given in two different forms (127; 128). Seyffert [8] is probably right in arranging the two versions: (1) ll. 121-123, 128; (2) ll. 124-127. Of the two, the second is probably the genuine. *Alius nunc fieri volo* (l. 127) is more vivid than *ornabor* (l. 123), and the collocation *restat, restant* (l. 126) is quite in the style of Plautus.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text, except that l. 126 appears after l. 127.
A *deest.*

AD. Negóti sibí qui uolét uim paráre,
Nauem et mulierem haec duo comparato.
Nam núllae magís res duaé plus negóti
Habént, forte si ócceperís exornáre,
Neque umquam satis hae duae res ornantur,
Neque eís ulla ornándi satís satietás est.

214. The thought of ll. 214, 215 is exactly the same. The phrase *duae res* in l. 214 is an awkward repetition from l. 212, and the line is unmetrical. In line 215, on the contrary, the quibble *satis satietas* sounds Plautine. The first line is therefore probably due to a later hand.

[8] O. Seyffert, *Studia Plautina*, Berlin, 1874, p. 11.

A *decst.*

Atque haéc ut loquór, nunc domó docta díco. 216
Nam nós usque ab aúrora ad hóc quod diéist
(Postquam aurora inluxit numquam concessauimus)
Ex índustria ámbae numquám concessámus
Lauári aut fricári aut tergéri aut ornári. 220

218. Another variant, also unskillful metrically, seems to be presented by l. 218. This line repeats ll. 217, 219, and was probably intended to take their place.

A *deest.*

AD. Ínuidia in me númquam innatast néque malitia, méa soror: 300
Bóno me⟨d⟩ esse ingénio ornatam quam aúro multo máuolo.
(Aúrum id fortuna ínuenitur, nátura ingeniúm bonum:
Bónam ego quam beátam me esse nímio dici máuolo.)
Méretricem pudórem gerere mágis decet quam púrpuram.
(Mágisque meretricém pudorem quam aúrum gerere cóndecet.) 305
Púlcrum ornatum túrpes mores péius caeno cónlinunt:
Lépidi mores túrpem ornatum fácile factis cómprobant.

300 ff. Fond as Plautus was of *sententiae*, he would hardly have made Adelphasium utter the whole of this speech as it stands in our text. Nearly every line in it has been suspected by some one of the editors. We can, however, be sure of *retractatio* only in l. 304, which repeats l. 305 almost word for word, omitting the necessary conjunction *-que*, and substituting *decet* for the Plautine verb *condecet*. The second version seems to have been composed to introduce a new detail (*purpura*) into the list of the courtesan's ornaments.[9]

The whole passage occurs in both A and P, but A has the order: 303, 305, 304.

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[9] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, pp. 338 f.

Síc enim dicerés, sceleste: huíus uoluptas, te ópsecro, 387
Huíus mel, huius cor, huíus labellum, huíus lingua, huius sáuium,
Huíus delicia, huiús salus amoéna, huius festíuitas,
Huíus colustra, huiús dulciculus cáseus, mastígia: 390ª
(Hûius cor, huiús studium, huius sáuium, mastígia.) 390ᵇ

390ᵇ. The terms of endearment in l. 390,ᵇ except for *studium*, merely repeat those of l. 388, and the epithet *mastigia* addressed to Milphio is taken from l. 390. It is possible that the word *studium* was a new bit of slang in the Revival Age, and that the alternative line was composed for the purpose of introducing this novelty.

P has the order: 389, 390ª, 390ᵇ.

A omits 390ª (a genuine verse), but writes *dulciculus caseus* above *savium mastigia* of 390ᵇ, showing that some form of the line must have stood in the archetype of A.

AG. íta me di ament, tárdo amico níl[i] est quicquam inaéquius, 504
Praésertim homini amánti qui quicquíd agit properat ómnia. 505
Sícut ego hos duco áduocatos, hómines spissigradíssumos,
Tárdiores quám corbitae sûnt in tranquillő mari.
Átque equidem hercle dédita opera amícos fugitauí senes:
Scí[e]bam aetati tárdiores, métui meo amorí moram.
Néquiquam hos procós mihi elegi lóripedis, tardíssumos. 510
Quín si ituri hodie éstis, ite aut íte hinc in malám crucem.
Sícine oportet íre amicos hómini amanti operám datum?
Nam ístequidem gradûs succretust críbro pollinário:
Nísi cum pedicis cóndidicistis ís⟨t⟩oc grassarí gradu.
ADV. Heûs tu, quamquam nós uidemur tíbi plebeii et paúperes, 515
Sí nec recte dícis nobis díues de summő loco,
Díuitem audactér solemus máctare infortúnio.
Néc tibi nos obníxi[i] sumus istúc, quid tu ames aut óderis.
Quom árgentum pro cápite dedimus, nóstrum dedimus, nón tuom.
Líberos nos ésse oportet: nós te nili péndimus: 520
Né tuo nos amóri seruos [tuos] ésse addictos cénseas.
Líberos hominés per urbem módico magis par ést gradu
íre: seruile ésse duco féstinantem cúrrere.

Praésertim in re pópuli placida atque ínterfectis hóstibus
Nón decet tumúltuari. séd si properabás magis.
Prídie nos te áduocatos hûc duxisse opórtuit.
Né tu opinere, haúd quisquam hodie nóstrum curret pér uias
Néque nos populus prŏ cerritis ínsectabit lápidibus.
AG. Át si ad prandiúm me in aedem uós dixissem dúcere.
Vínceretis céruom cursu uél grallatorém gradu.
Núnc uos quia mihi áduocatos díxi et testis dúcere,
Pódagrosi estis ác uicistis cóclea tarditúdine.
⟨ADV.⟩ Án uero non iústa causast quó⟨r⟩ curratur céleriter,
[ADV.] Vbi bibas, edás de alieno quántum uelis usque ádfatim.
Quód tu inuitus númquam reddas dómino. de qu⟨o⟩io éderis?
Séd tamen cum eó cum quiqui quámquam sumus paupérculi.
Ést domi quod edímus: ne nos tám contemptim cónteras.
Quícquid est pauxíllulum illuc nóstrum † id omne íntus est:
Néque nos quemquam flágitamus néque nos quisquam flágitat.
Tuá causa nemó nostrorumst suós rupturus rámites.
AG. Nímis iracundi éstis: equidem haec uóbis dixi pér iocum.
ADV. Pér iocum itidem dícta[m] habeto, quaé nos tibi respóndimus.
AG. Óbsecro hercle operám celocem hanc míhi. ne corbitám date.
Áttrepidate sáltem: nam uos ádproperare haud póstulo.
ADV. Síquid tu placide ótioseque ágere uis, operám damus:
Sí properas, cursŏres meliust te áduocatos dúcere.
AG. Séftis. rem narráui uobis, quód nostra opera mi ópus siet.
Dé lenone hoc quí me amantem lúdificatur tám diu:
Éi paratae ut sínt insidiae de aúro et de seruó meo.
ADV. Ómnia istaec scímus iam nos, si hí spectatores sciant.
Hórunc hi[n]c nunc caúsa haec agitur spéctatorum fábula:
Hós te satius ést docere ut, quándo agas, quid agá[n]s sciant.
Nós tu ne curássis: scimus rem ómnem, quippe omnés simul
Dídicimus tecum úna, ut respondére possimús tibi.
AG. Ítă profectost. séd agite igitur. út sciam uos séfrem.
Éxpedite et míhi quae uobis dúdum dixi dícite.
ADV. ſtane temptas án sciamus? nón meminisse nós [t]ratu's.
Quó modo trecéntos Philippos Cóllabisco uílico
Déderis, quos deférret huc ad lénonem inimicúm tuom,
ſsque se ut adsimuláret peregrinum [esse] áliunde ex alio óppido.
Vbi is detulerit. tu eó quaesitum séruom aduent⟨ar⟩és tuom
Qúm pecuniá. AG. Meministis mémoriter: seruástis me.

ADV. ílle negabit: Mílphionem quaéri censebít tuom
íd duplicabit ómne furtum: léno addicetúr tibi.
Ád eam rem nos ésse ‹t›estis uís tibi. ‹AG.› Tenétis rem.
ADV. Víx quidem hercle | — íta pauxillast — dígitulis primóribus.
AG. (Hóc cito et cursímst agendum. própera iam quantúm potest.
ADV. Béne uale igitur. te áduocatos mélius‹t› celeris dúcere:
Tárdi sumus nos. AG. óptume itis, péssume hercle dícitis.
Quín etiam decíderint uobis fémina | in talós uelim.
ADV. Át edepol nos tíbi | in lumbos línguam atque oculos ín solum.
AG. Héia, hau uostrumst íracundos ésse quod dixí ioco.
ADV. Néc tuom quidémst amicis pér iocum iniusté loqui.
AG. Míttite istaec. quíd uelim uos, scítis. ADV. Cállemús probe:
Lénonem ut periúrum perdas, íd studes. AG. Tenétis rem.)

540 ff. The long tedious scene between Agorastocles and the *advocati* was apparently shortened for later productions. The beginning of the scene (ll. 504-542) and ll. 567-573 show exactly the same development of thought. In both, Agorastocles rebukes the old gentlemen for their slowness, and they resent the reproof; then he apologizes, saying that his words were meant only in fun. The plan against the *leno* which is reviewed at length in ll. 547-566 is summarized in ll. 574-575, though, as Goetz [10] observed, the second version would be incomprehensible if we had not the first as well. Moreover, a third version of the beginning of the scene is probably preserved in ll. 543-546.[11] Here again we have the remonstrance of Agor-

[10] Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), p. 269.

[11] Goetz (*Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6, p. 254), noting the inappropriateness of these verses in their present position, made them precede ll. 541-542. Leo (*Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 161, note) thought them a part of the same shortened version that we find in ll. 567-575. Kellermann (*Comm. phil. Jen.* 7, p. 134) agreed with Goetz that ll. 543-546 and 567-575 could not belong to the same recension.

astocles and the reply of the *advocati* (cf. ll. 504-540; 567-571). The parallelism is particularly close between 507 (*corbitae*) and 543 (*corbitam*); between 521-523, 546, and 568; between 541-542 and 572-573; between 565 (*tenetis rem*) and 575 (*tenetis rem*). There seem therefore to have been three versions of the scene: (1) the Plautine version, ll. 504-542; 547-566; (2) ll. 567-575; and (3) ll. 543-546, probably followed by ll. 547-566.[21]

P has the passage in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.

A *deest* 501-571 (=71 ll.) Two sheets of A are missing (=76 ll.). If we allow two lines for the scene-heading of III., 1, and assume that a few of the long verses were run over, we find that the whole passage could very well have been contained in A. But in any case, the fact that A preserves 572 ff. in the same form as P. would argue that it had the rest of the passage as well.

ADV. Aetóli ciues té salutamús, Lyce:
Quamquam hánc salutem férimus inuití tibi.
[Et quamquam bene uolumus leniter lenonibus.]
LY. Fortúnati omnes sítis: quod certó scio
Nec fóre nec Fortunam íd situram ffieri.
ADV. Istic ést thensaurus stúltis in linguá situs,
Vt quaéstui habeant mále loqui melióribus.
⟨LY.⟩ Viám qui nescit quá deueniat ád mare,
Eum opórtet amnem quaérere comitém sibi.
Ego mále loquendi uóbis nesciuí uiam:
Nunc uós mihi amnes éstis: uos certúmst sequi.
Si béne dicetis, uóstra ripa uós sequar:
Si mále dicetis, uóstro gradiar límite.

[21] Langrehr, *De Plauti Poenulo*, p. 19, suspected ll. 523, 567, 728, 733 (to which he should probably have added l. 730) because the *advocati*, for whom Plautus regularly uses the plural, speak or are addressed in the singular in these lines. Of the suspected verses, l. 567 is probably not by Plautus: the rest occur in passages which are otherwise free from suspicion.

ADV. Malō bene facere tántumdemst perículum
Quantúm bono male fácere. LY. Qui[d] uerō? ADV. Scies.
Malo síquid bene faciás, id beneficium ínterit:
Bonó siquid male fácias, aetatem éxpetit.
⟨LY.⟩ Facéte dictum. séd quid istuc ad me áttinet?
⟨ADV.⟩ Quia nós honoris tuí causa ad te uénimus,
Quamquám bene uolumus léniter lenónibus.

622[b]. This verse is the same as l. 639, except that l. 622[b] begins *et quamquam,* and l. 639 *quamquam* alone. Lindsay [13] is probably right in thinking that the repetition indicates shortening. The actors of the Revival could easily pass from l. 622 to l. 639, and thence to the end of the scene.

A *deest* 604-634.

LY. Sed háec latrocinántur quae ego dixi ómnia.
CO. Quid ità? LY. Quia aurum póscunt praesentárium.
CO. Quin hércle accipere tū non mauis quam égo dare.
⟨ADV.⟩ Quid, si éuocemus húc foras Agorástoclem,
Vt ípsus testis sít sibi certíssumus?
Heus tū, qui furem cáptas, egredere ócius,
Vt tūte inspectes aúrum lenoní dare.

AGORASTOCLES. **ADVOCATI.** **COLLABISCVS.**
ADVLESCENS VILICVS
LYCVS
LENO

AG. Quid ést? quid uoltis, téstes? ADV. Specta ad déxteram:
Tuos séruos aurum | ípsi lenoní dabit.
CO. Age áccipe hoc sis: heíc sunt numerati aúrei
Trecénti nummi quí uocantur Phílipp⟨e⟩i.
Hinc mé procura: própere hosce apsumí uolo.
LY. Edepól fecisti ródigum promúm tibi.
Age eámus intro. CO. Té sequor. LY. Age age ámbula:
Ibí quae relicua ália fabulábimur.

[13] Lindsay, Ed. (1905), *ad loc.*

CO. Eadém narrabo tíbi res Spartiáticas.
LY. Quin séquere me intro. CO. Dúc me intro: addictúm tenes. 720
AG. Quid núnc mihi auctores éstis? ADV. Vt frugí sies.
AG. Quid, si ánimus esse nón sinit? ADV. Esto út sinit.
AG. Vídistis, leno quom aúrum accepit? ADV. Vídimus.
AG. Eum uós meum esse séruom scitis? ADV. Sci‹ui›mus.
AG. Rem aduórsus populi † saepe leges? ADV. Sciuimus. 725
AG. Em istáec uolo ergo uós commeminisse ómnia.
Mox quom ád praetorem | úsus ueniet. ADV. Méminimus.
AG. Quid, sí recenti re aédis pultem? ADV. Cénseo.
AG. Si púltem, non reclúdet? ADV. Panem frángito.
AG. Si exíerit leno, cénsen[t] hominem intérrogem, 730
Meus séruos [si] ad eum uéneritne? ADV. Quíppini?

706 ff. The repetitions in the manuscripts at the close of III., 3 seem to indicate a shortening of the prolix scene that follows. After Collabiscus had agreed to pay Lycus the sum demanded for an evening's entertainment, there was no reason for delay; the money could be handed over at once, and then Agorastocles could appear and demand his slave, in accordance with the prearranged plan. It was apparently with the intention of cutting out the intervening dialogue that some manager adscribed ll. 720, 730 at the close of III., 3. But if, as Leo[14] and Lindsay[15] think, l. 720 followed directly upon l. 706, and l. 730 in turn upon l. 720, Agorastocles must have appeared upon the stage without any summons or any notice of his coming. Some announcement seems necessary, and the fact that l. 720 appears in A one line later than in P perhaps indicates that it was intended to be spoken after the summons of Agorastocles. (ll. 707-710).

[14] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, pp. 7 f.
[15] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, pp. 43 f.

P has the order: 706, 720 (in the unmetrical form *Quin sequere me intro? Duc me ergo intro. Addictum tenes.*), 707 ff., repeating 720 in metrical form in the proper place.

A has the order: 706, 707, 720 (in the same form as P, except that it omits *addictum tenes*), 730, (with the reading *quid tum? hominem interrogem?*), 708. Then the sheet which must have contained 709-745 is missing in A. The 38 lines on the sheet would not give room for these 37 verses and a two-line scene-heading; but it is possible that the scene-heading for III., 4 took up only one line in A,[16] as the heading for III., 5 actually does. At any rate A, in inserting 730 before 708, shows more evidence of change than P.

CO. Abscédam hinc intro. AG. Fáctum a uobis cómiter. 805
Bonám dedistis, áduocati, operám mihi.
Cras máne, quaeso, in cómitio estote óbuiam.
Tu séquere me intro. uós ualete. ADV. Et tú uale.

805-808. The command of Agorastocles to Collabiscus in l. 808 (*tu sequere me intro*) is impossible after Collabiscus has announced in l. 805 *abscedam hinc intro.* Langen [17] is probably right in thinking that a later version substituted l. 805 for ll. 806-808, in order to shorten the scene. He observes that the vocative *advocati* comes in much more naturally if l. 805 is omitted, and that the salutation *valete* . . . *vale* (l. 808) forms a suitable close for the dialogue.

A *deest* 783-849.

MI. íllic hinc abiit. dei ímmortales méum erum seruatúm uolunt 917
ét hunc disperditúm lenonem: tántum eum instat éxiti.
Sátine, prius quam unúmst iniectum télum, iam instat álterum?
íbo intro: haec ut méo ero memorem: nam húc si ante aedes éuocem, 920

[16] This is evidently the assumption of Seyffert. Cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 16 (1896), col. 253, note 3.

[17] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 342.

Quae aúdiuistis módo. nunc si eadem híc iterum iterem. inscítiast.
Éro uni potius íntus ero odio quam híc sim uobis ómnibus.
Dei ímmortales, quánta turba, quánta aduenit cálamitas
Hódie ad hunc lenónem. sed ego núnc est quom me cómmoror.
íta negotium ínstitutumst: nón datur cessátio:
Nám et hoc docte cónsulendum, quód modo concréditumst,
Ét illud autem inséruiendumst cónsilium uernáculum.
Rémor⟨a⟩ si sit, quí malam rem míhi det, merito fécerit.
Núnc intro ibo: dum érus aduenìat á foro, opperiár domi.

917-929. The close of the scene undoubtedly shows two parallel versions. There is very close correspondence between 917-918 and 923-924 (note especially the repetition of *dei immortales*); between 920 *ibo intro* and 929 *nunc intro ibo*. But l. 920 implies that Agorastocles is in the house, while l. 929 states that he is to return *a foro*. We must therefore recognize two versions: (1) ll. 917-922; and (2) ll. 923-929. Evidence for the genuineness of the former version is found in the jingle *ero . . .ero* in the last line;[18] and this version agrees with l. 808 (which, as we have just seen, is probably genuine) in representing Agorastocles as inside the house.

Both A and P give the entire passage.

Ythalonim ualon uth sicorathisyma comsyth
Chym lachunythmumys thral mycthi baruimy sehi
Liphocanethythby nuthi ad edynbynui
Bymarob syllohomaloni murbymy syrthoho
Byth lym mothyn noctothu ulechanti clamas chon
Yssid dobrim thyfel yth chil ys chon chem liful
Yth binim ysdybur thinnochot nu agorastocles
Ythemaneth ihychir saelichot sith naso
Bynny idchil liichilygubulim lasibit thim
Bodialytherayn nynnurs lymmon choth lusim

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[18] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 55.

Ythalonimualoniuthsicorathiisthymhimihymacomsyth
Combaepumamitalmetlotiambeat
Iulecantheconaalonimbalumbar ≠ dechor
Bats****hunesobinesubicsillimbalim
Esseantidamossonalemuedubertefet
Donobun*huneccilthumucommucroluful 945
Altanimauosduberithemhuarcharistolem
Sittesedanecnasotersahelicot
Alemusdubertimurmucopsuistiti
Aoccaaneclictorbodesiussilimlimmimcolus.

930-949. A has only one version of the Carthaginian passage; P gives two. Lindsay [19] regards ll. 930-939 as *retractatio;* but it is hard to imagine any stage-manager, no matter how industrious, remodeling a speech in a foreign tongue, or calling in a professor of Semitics to correct the grammar. It is much more likely, therefore, that the second version is the work of a later grammarian.

A omits 930-939.

HA. O mí popularis, sálue. AG. Et tu edepol, quísquis es: 1039
Et síquid opus est, quaéso, dic atque ímpera 1040
Populáritatis caúsa. HA. Habeo grátiam:
Verum égo hic hospitium | hábeo: Antidamae fílium
Quaerō — commostra, sí nouisti — Agorástoclem.
(Sed ecquem ádulescentem tu híc nouisti Agorástoclem?
AG. Siquidem Antidama[t]i quaéris adoptatícium. 1045
Ego sum ípsus, quem tu quaéris. HA. Hem, quid ego aúdio?
AG. Antídamae gnatum me ésse. HA. Si itast, tésseram
Conférre si uis hóspitalem, eccam áttuli.
AG. Agedum, húc ostende. est pár probe, ⟨q⟩uam habeō domi.)
HA. O mi hóspes, salue múltum. nam mihi tūos pater 1050
Patrítus ergo | hóspes Antidamás fuit.
Haec míhi hospitalis téssera cum illó fuit.
⟨AG.⟩ Ergo híc apud me hospítium tibi praebébitur.

[19] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 44.

1042 ff. This passage has long been considered one of the most certain examples of *retractatio* in Plautus, but scholars are by no means agreed as to the extent of the dittography. There are two inquiries about Agorastocles (1042-1043; 1044), each introduced by an adversative particle (*verum, sed*), and two presentations of the *hospitalis tessera* (1047-1049; 1052). The salutation in ll. 1050-1051 is concerned with the identity of Agorastocles as adopted son of Antidama, Hanno's ancestral guest-friend (cf. ll. 1042-1043), and the *tessera* (l. 1052) is brought in almost as an afterthought. Seyffert's [20] solution of the difficulty is on the whole the most satisfactory. He finds two parallel versions: (1) ll. 1042-1043, followed by a reply of Agorastocles, similar to that in l. 1046, and then by ll. 1050-1053; (2) ll. 1044-1049, followed by l. 1053. Each version begins with an inquiry about Agorastocles and a disclosure of the young man's identity; but in the first the recognition rests upon a simple statement, in the second there is a careful examination of the *tessera*. If Seyffert [21] and Langrehr [22] are right in thinking *Antidamas* (l. 1051) an un-Plautine form,[3] the second version is the genuine.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.

A has 1041, 1044-1048, 1042-1043, 1053, 1049-1053 (*i. e.*, A transposes the couplet 1042-1043, and repeats 1053).

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[20] Seyffert, *Stud. Plaut.*, pp. 11 f.

[21] Seyffert, *Stud. Plaut.*, p. 12.

[22] Langrehr, *De Plauti Poen.*, p. 21.

[3] The same form occurs in l. 955. The final *-s* is in both cases necessitated by the meter.

HA. Tu abdúc hosc⟨e⟩ intro et úna nutricém simul
Iube hánc abire hinc ád te. AG. Fac quod ímperat.
MI. Sed quís illas tibi monstrábit? AG. Ego doctíssume.
MI. Abeo ígitur. AG. Facias módo quam memores máuelim.
Patruo áduenienti céna curetúr uolo.
MI. Lachánam uos, quos égo iam detrudam ád molas,
Inde pórro ad puteum atque ád robustum códicem.
Ego fáxo hospitium hoc léniter laudábitis.
AG. Audín tu, patrue? díco, ne dictúm neges.
Tuam míhi maiorem fíliam despóndeas.
HA. Pactám rem habeto. AG. Spóndesne igitur? HA. Spóndeo.
⟨AG.⟩ Mi pátrue, salue: nám nunc es plané meus.
Nunc démum ego cum illa fábulabor líbere.
Nunc, pátrue, si uis tuás uidere fílias,
Me séquere. HA. Iam dudum équidem cupio et té sequor.
(Quid, si eámus illis óbuiam? AG. At ne intér uias
Praetérbitamus métuo. HA. Magne Iúppiter,
Restítue certas míhi ex incertis núnc opes.
AG. †Ego quidem meos amores mécum confidó fore.)
Sed eccás uideo ipsas. HA. Haécine meae sunt fíliae?
Quantae é quantillis iám sunt factae. MI. Scín, quid est?
Thraecaé sunt * * * * onem sustollí solent.
(Opíno[r] hercle hodie quód ego dixi pér iocum,
Id éuenturum esse ét seuerum et sérium,
Vt haec ínueniantur hódie esse huius fíliae.
⟨AG.⟩ Pol istúc quidem iam cértumst. tu istos, Mílphio,
Abdúce intro: nos hásce hic praestolábimur.)

1162 ff. There are traces of alteration at the close of this scene. In ll. 1160-1161 Agorastocles bids Hanno follow him if he wishes to see his daughters. In ll. 1162-1163 Hanno proposes, as if the plan were quite new, that they go to meet the girls, and Agorastocles objects that they may miss them on the way. At l. 1166 the two girls are seen approaching, and at l. 1173 Agorastocles and Hanno announce that they will wait for them. Milphio has been commanded to enter the house at ll. 1147-1148, and has apparently done so (cf. l. 1150 *abeo;* l. 1154); to our surprise we find him on the stage at

ll. 1167 ff., making a belated comment on the identity of the two girls, and receiving the same directions that had been given to him before. There are certainly two versions of the command to Milphio and of the proposal to look for the girls; and it is possible that the whole passage (1162-1173) represents an alternative ending for the scene, intended to follow l. 1146.

A and P give the scene in the same form.

⟨AG.⟩ Quaeso, quí lubet tam diú tenere cóllum? 1266
Omítte saltem tu áltera: nolo égo istuc — ⟨AD.⟩ Enicás me.
⟨AG.⟩ Prius quám te mihi despónderit. AD. [O] Mittó? sperate. sálue.
⟨HA.⟩ Condámus alter álterum ergo in néruom bracchiálem.

1267-1268. There is much confusion in the latter part of the play about the betrothal of Agorastocles and Adelphasium. It takes place in full form at ll. 1155-1157 (cf. *Aul.* 255-256; *Trin.* 571-573), and the promise made at that time is recalled to Hanno's mind at ll. 1278-1279. But at l. 1268 and again at l. 1357 Agorastocles speaks as if the betrothal were still to take place. This last line, as we shall see, probably belongs to the latest version of the play, and it is possible that ll. 1267-1268, which are awkwardly introduced at best, also represent a later addition. If the close of V., 3 was changed by the substitution of ll. 1162-1173 for 1147-1161 (cf. above), the betrothal was omitted in the later performance of the play, and the changes in the other scenes may have been made to agree with this.

A has the passage in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
P has the order 1266, 1268, 1267.

AG. Num tíbi, adulescens, málae aut dentes prúriunt,
Qui huic és molestus, án malam rem quaéritas?
ANTA. † Qur non adhibuisti, dúm istaec loquere, tympanum?
Nam té cinaedum esse árbitror magis quám uirum.
AG. Scin quám cinaedus sum? íte istinc, seruí, foras,
Ecférte fustis. ANTA. Heús tu, siquid pér iocum
Dixí, nolito in sérium conuórtere.
ANTE. Qui[d] tíbi lubidos<t>, ópsecro, Antamoénides,
Loqui ínclementer nóstro cognato ét patri?
Nam hic nóster pater est: híc nos cognouít modo
Et húnc sui fratris fílium. ANTA. Ita me Iúppiter
Bene amét, bene factum. gaúdeo et uolup ést mihi,
Siquíd lenoni | óptigit magní mali,
Quomque é uirtute uóbis fortuna óptigit.
ANTE. Credíbile ecastor dícit: crede huic, mí pater.
HA. Credo. AG. Ét ego credo. séd eccum lenonem óptume:
(Credo. AG. Át ego credo |. édepol hic uenit cómmodus.)
Bonúm uirum eccum uídeo: se recipít domum.
HA. (Quis hic ést? AG. Vtrumuis ést, <u>el leno <uél> λύκος.
In séruitute hic fílias habuít tuas,
Et mi [hic] aúri fur est. HA. Béllum hominem, quem nóueris.)
AG. Rapiámus in ius. HA. Mínume. AG. Quaproptér? HA. Quia
Iniúriarum múlto induci sátius est.

LYCVS. LENO — AGORASTOCLES. ADVLESCENS — HANNO. POENVS

ANTAMOENIDES MILES

LY. Decípitur nemo méa quidem senténtia,
Qui suís amicis nárrat recte rés suas:
Nam omnibus amicis meís idem unum cónuenit,
Vt mé suspendam, ne áddicar Agorástocli.
AG. Leno, eámus in ius. LY. Ópsecro te, Agorástocles,
Suspéndere ut me líceat. HA. In ius té uoco.
LY. Quid tíbi mecum autem? HA. Quía | hasce aio líberas
Ingénuasque esse fílias ambás meas.
Eae sunt surruptae cum nutrice páruolae.
LY. Iam prídem equidem istuc scíui et miratús fui
Nemínem venire qui ístas adsererét manu.

Meaequidém profecto nón sunt. ANTA. Leno, in iús eas.
LY. De prándio tu díceis: debetúr. dabo.
AG. Duplúm pro furto mi ópus est. LY. Sume hinc quídlubet.
HA. Et míhi suppliciis múltis. LY. Súme hinc quídlubet.
(ANTA. Et míhi quidem min[im]a[m] argénti. LY. Sume hinc quídlubet.
Colló rem soluam iam ómnibus quasi báiolus.
AG. Numquíd recusas cóntra me? LY. Haud uerbúm quidem.
AG. Ite ígitur intro, múlieres. sed, pátrue mi,
Tuam. út dixisti, míhi desponde fíliam.
HA. Haud áliter ausim. ANTA. Béne uale. AG. Et tu béne uale.)
ANTA. Leno, árrabonem hoc pró mina mecúm fero.
LY. Perii hércle. AG. Immo haud multó post, si in ius uéneris.
LY. Quin égomet tibi me addíco: quid praetóre opust?
Verum óbsecro te ut líceat simplum sóluere,
Trecéntos Philippos: crédo, conradí potest.
Cras aúctionem fáciam. AG. Tantispér quidem
Vt sís apud me lígnea in custódia.
LY. Fiát. AG. Sequere intro. pátrue mi. ut hunc festúm diem
Habeámus hilare[m] huiús malo et nostró bono.
Multúm ualete. múlta uerba fécimus:
Malúm postremo omne ád lenonem réccidit.
Nunc, quód postremumst cóndimentum fábulae,
Si plácuit, plausum póstulat comoédia.

AGORASTOCLES. ADVLESCENS — LYCVS. LENO — HANNO. POENVS

ANTAMOENIDES MILES

ANTERASTYLIS. ADELPHASIVM. MERETRICES II

AG. Quam rém agis, miles? quí lubet patruó meo
Loqui ínclementer? né mirere múlieres
Quod eúm sequuntur: módo cognouit fílias
Suas ésse hasce ambas. LY. Hém, quod uerbum aurís meas
Tetigít? nunc perii. ANTA. Vnde haec perierúnt domo?
AG. Carthágínienses súnt. LY. At ego sum pérditus.

Illûc ego metuei sémper, ne cognósceret
Eas áliquis: quod nunc fáctumst. uae miserô mihi.
Periére, opinor, duódeuigintí minae
Qui hasce émi. AG. Et tute ípse peri⟨i⟩stí, Lyce.
HA. Quis hic ést? AG. Vtrumuis ést. [no]uel leno uél λύκος.
In séruitute hic fílias habuít tuas
Et mi aûri fur est. HA. Béllum hominem, quem nôueris.
AG. Lenô, rapacem te ésse semper crédidi:
Verum étiam furacem ⟨áiunt⟩ qui norûnt magis.
LY. Accédam. per ego † te tua te genua ôbsecro
Et hûnc, cognatum quém tuom esse intéllego:
Quandô boni estis, út bonos facere áddecet,
Facite út ⟨uos⟩ uostro súbueniatis súpplici.
Iam prídem equidem istas scíui | esse líberas
Et éxpectabam, síqui eas assererét manu[m]:
† Nam meae prosum nón sunt. tum autem aurûm tuom
Reddâm quod apud mest ét ius iurandum dabo
Me málitiose níl fecisse, Agorástocles.
AG. Quid míhi par facere sít, † cum egomet cônsulam.
Omítte genua. LY. Mítto, si ita senténtiast.
ANTA. Heûs tu, leno. LY. Quíd lenonem uís inter negôtium?
ANTA. Vt ⟨m⟩inam mihi argénti[m] reddas, príus quam in neruom abdûcere.
LY. Dí meliora fáxint. ANTA. Sic est: hódie cenabís foris:
Aúrum, argentum, cóllum, leno, [s]trís re⟨s⟩ nunc debés semul.
HA. Quíd me⟨d⟩ hac re fácere deceat, égomet mecum cógito.
Sí uolo hunc ulcísci, litis séquar in alieno óppido,
Quántum audiui ingénium et mores éius quo[d] pactô sient.
AD. Mí pater, nequíd tibi cum istoc reí † siet ac massum ôbsecro.
ANTE. Aúsculta sorôri. abi, diiunge ínimicitias cum ínprobo.
HA. Hóc age sis, lenô: quamquam ego te méruisse ut pereás scio,
Nón experiar técum. AG. Neque ego, si aûrum mihi reddés meum.
Léno, quando ex néruo emissu's, cônpingare in cárcerem.
LY. Iám⟨ne⟩ autem, ut solés? ⟨ANTA.⟩ Ego, Poene, tíbi me purgatûm uolo.
Síquid dixi irâtus aduorsum ánimi tui senténtiam:
íd uti ignoscas, quaéso, et quom istas ínuenisti fílias,
íta me di ament, ⟨út⟩ mihi uolup[tatis] est. HA. ígnosco et credô tibi.

ANTA. †Leno, tu autem amicam mihi des facito aut auri mihi reddās minam.
LY. Vīn tibicinām meam habere? ANTA. Nīl moror tibīcinam: Nēscias utrum ei maiores būccaene a⟨n⟩ mammae sient. 1416
LY. Dābo quae placeat. ANTA. Cūra. LY. Aurum crās[s] a⟨d⟩ te referām tuom.
AG. Fāc⟨i⟩to in memoria hābeas. LY. Miles, sequere me. ANTA. Ego ueró sequor.
AG. Quīd ais, patrue? quándo hinc ire cógitas Carthāginem?
Nām tecum mihi una īre certumst. HA. Vbi primum potero, īlico. 1420
AG. Dum aūctionem fācio, hic opus est āliquot ut manéas dies.
HA. Fāciam ita ut uis. AG. Āge sis, eamus: nós curemus. plaūdite.)

Double Ending (1315-1422). The manuscripts of Plautus give two versions of the close of the *Poenulus*, each ending with a request for applause (ll. 1315-1371; 1372-1422). Early editors tried to fix upon one of these endings as genuine, and to discard the other;[24] but the prevalent view to-day is that both contain a mixture of the genuine text and the text of the Plautine Revival, with some still later additions and interpolations. The older of the two versions is represented by ll. 1322-1355; 1398-1422; but even this is probably not preserved in the form in which Plautus wrote it. Substitutions were made for both parts of this ending, though not necessarily by the same author or at the same date. The first half was displaced by the confused dialogue of ll. 1372-1397, and the last by ll. 1356-1371, the only final scene in Plautus which is written in iambic *senarii*, and the only one in which the abstract *comoedia* asks for applause.[25]

Both A and P give both endings. A makes no division between the two: P leaves a space as if for a new scene before l. 1372.

[24] See Goetz-Loewe. Ed. (1884), on V., 7.

[25] On the whole question, see Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, pp. 343 ff.; Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 158, note 3.

Except for some slight differences which will be discussed below, the form of the two endings is the same in both families of manuscripts.

1315 ff. The general discussion of the Double Ending has left untouched ll. 1315-1321. The starting-point of both endings is the insolent speech of Antamoenides to Hanno (ll. 1309-1314). As a matter of fact, this speech is rebuked three times: (1) by Agorastocles (ll. 1315 ff.); (2) by Adelphasium (ll. 1322 ff.); (3) by Agorastocles (ll. 1372 ff.). The second reproof follows the apology of the *miles* (ll. 1320-1321), and is clearly out of place; the third, as we have already seen, belongs to the later version of the ending. Moreover, there are three announcements of the approach of the *leno* in three successive lines (1330-1332). The second of these so closely resembles the first that it must be regarded as an alternative version, and the repetition of *eccum* in the third throws suspicion on that line also. The passage which follows l. 1331 in P (ll. 1333-1335) is identical with ll. 1382-1384. It seems more appropriate in the first position, for we should expect Hanno to inquire about the approaching stranger;[26] in the second, since Lycus is already taking part in the dialogue, there is much less reason for the question. It is probable that in the first two versions Antamoenides was rebuked for his rudeness, apologized, and received forgiveness; then as the *leno* was seen approaching, Hanno inquired about him. In the third version, Lycus entered abruptly after l. 1314, just in time to hear the reproof of Antamoenides and to learn that Hanno was the father of his two slaves. The three versions therefore ran as follows: (1) ll. 1315-1321,

[26] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 351.

followed by ll. 1329-1330, 1333-1335; (2) the genuine version, ll. 1322-1328, 1329-1330,1333-1335; (3) ll. 1372-1381.

P omits 1331 (which is certainly due to *retractatio*), but aside from that omission gives 1315-1337, 1372-1384 in full form (1333-1335 = 1382-1384). A omits 1333-1335, but writes *quis hiest* at the close of 1332, showing that the lines must have appeared in full form somewhere in the A-family. If we assume that 1322-1328 and 1372-1381 were alternative versions, the repetition of 1333-1335 after 1381 is not surprising.

1378 ff. The repetition of l. 1377 after l. 1381 in P may perhaps indicate a shortening of the scene by the omission of ll. 1378-1381.[27]

P repeats 1377 after 1381.

A *deest* after 1381, but apparently did not repeat 1377, for the 38 lines of the missing sheet would have given just enough space for 1382-1419.

The *Poenulus* shows more extensive alteration than any other play of Plautus. It contains the longest single case of dittography—the Double Ending—and both this ending and the body of the play have received an unusual amount of revision. In two places (ll. 504 ff.; 1315 ff.) there are clear traces of three parallel versions. Scattered through the play, too, in passages which would otherwise arouse no comment, are a number of suspicious forms (the singular verbs in ll. 523, 728, 730, 733; the nominative in *-s* in l. 955). Then there are, of course, examples of the more common kinds of *retractatio:* variant lines (214, 218, 304, 390[a]) and longer alternative versions (ll. 121-128; 917-929; 1042-1052), and possible

[27] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.* Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 45, note c.

attempts to shorten scenes (ll. 622[b], 706 ff., 805, 1377 ff.).[28]

For a number of these passages, the evidence of the Ambrosian Palimpsest is lacking. In the long Double Ending, the text of A and P is practically the same, and it is the same also in ll. 917-929, 1147-1173. A and P give the same text, though their order differs, in ll. 300-305, 1267-1269; and in two places, though A does not preserve the whole of the passage, it gives enough to show that the passage was present in some form in its archetype (ll. 389 ff.; 1333 ff.). In two instances where *retractatio* undoubtedly exists, A shows slightly more evidence of it than P (ll. 706 ff., 1042 ff.); and the alternative line 1331 is preserved only in A. The one change which A apparently fails to indicate is the shortening at ll. 1378 ff. On the whole, then, A shows slightly more evidence of *retractatio* than P.

[28] The following lines have also been suspected: 5-10, 14, 27, 37-40, 46-58, 79-82, 159-163, 176, 225-232, 242, 244 ff., 263-274, 275-282, 289-296, 313-316, 327-328, 330-408, 352-354, 360-364, 370-380, 385, 408, 419, 456[bc], 518, 521, 550, 551, 576, 631-632, 669-678, 717-718, 721-745, 831, 865, 877-878, 950-960, 967-970, 982-984, 988-989, 990-991, 1020, 1036, 1075, 1079-1085, 1108, 1116, 1125-1126, 1159, 1192-1204, 1212-1236, 1277-1279, 1328-1330, 1336-1337, 1349, 1350, 1353-1358, 1393 f., 1401, 1403-1404, 1408, 1417.

The evidence of A is lacking for 5-10, 14, 27, 37-40, 46-58, 79-82, 159-163, 176, 225-232, 242, 244 ff., 263-274, 275-282, 518, 521, 550, 551, 631-632, 717-718, 721-745, 831, 1075, 1079-1085, 1393, 1401, 1403-1404, 1408, 1417. Both A and P have 289-296, 313-316, 327-328, 330-408, 352-354, 360-364, 370-380, (P has the order 376, 375), 385, 408, 419, 576, 669-678, 865, 887-888, 950-960, 967-970, (P has the order 969, 968), 982-984, 988-989, 990-991, 1020 (in different order), 1036, 1108, 1116, 1125-1126, 1159, 1192-1204, 1212-1236, 1277-1279, 1328-1330, 1336-1337, 1349, 1350, 1353-1358 (A omits 1353). A omits 456[bc].

The following lines show minor variations: 331, 342, 343, 587, 690, 875, 975, 1332.

CHAPTER III.

PSEUDOLUS

The *Pseudolus* was a favorite with Plautus himself, if we may believe Cicero (*De Senect.* 14, 50), and its lively action and exuberant humor have made the play popular ever since. The situation is the old one of the youth in love. This time his name is Calidorus, the girl is called Phoenicium, her master Ballio, and the title-rôle is taken by Pseudolus, the slave of the young lover. In the first scene, Calidorus shows Pseudolus a letter from Phoenicium, announcing that she has been sold to a Macedonian soldier for twenty *minae;* three-quarters of the sum have already been paid, and she is to be handed over, on the payment of the last quarter, to the soldier's messenger, who is to bring an impression of his master's seal-ring as identification; the limit set for the payment of the balance is the next feast of Dionysus, which falls on the morrow. Ballio is next introduced—a brutal character at best, and especially brutal to-day, because it is his birthday, and he is planning to give a grand dinner. Calidorus appeals to him for six days of grace on the payment of twenty *minae* for Phoenicium, is told, to his surprise and delight, that she is not for sale, and then hears that she has already been sold to a Macedonian soldier—with all the details just as they were given in the first scene, except that the time set for the payment of the other five *minae* is "to-day." Pseudolus undertakes to help his young master, frankly confesses his purpose to the father, Simo, and warns the old gentleman

that he intends to cheat him. He adds that he is planning a second campaign, against the *leno* Ballio. If he succeeds in both plots, Simo is to pay for the girl. Simo's friend Callipho promises to remain at home that day and lend his aid to the schemer. Luck throws into the hands of Pseudolus a sealed letter from the *miles;* so a rogue who rivals Pseudolus himself in cleverness is dressed up like the soldier's messenger, and sent to Ballio, with the letter and five *minae*. Ballio recognizes the soldier's seal, delivers the girl to the messenger, and is then so sure of safety from attack that he offers to give Simo twenty *minae* if Pseudolus succeeds. But when the real messenger of the *miles* appears, it becomes evident that the trick is already played, and that Ballio is the victim. Simo acknowledges that Pseudolus has won his twenty *minae*, and the money is handed over,—to a very drunk and very impudent slave.

The plot of the *Pseudolus* shows obvious inconsistencies. The explanation given in the letter (ll. 51-59) makes the later account of the sale of Phoenicium superfluous, and the attitude of Calidorus—his tender solicitude for the girl (l. 231), his unbounded joy when he hears that she is not for sale (ll. 323 ff.), his despair when the truth is finally told (ll. 342 ff.)—is quite incomprehensible in one already familiar with the contents of the letter. There is a discrepancy, too, about the time when the final payment of the *miles* is due—*hodie* in the one case (ll. 373 f., 623 f.), *cras* in the other (ll. 60, 82). Callipho, whom we expect to take a prominent part in the action after his promise of aid to Pseudolus (ll. 547-560), disappears from the stage at the end of the scene and is never mentioned again.

Ladewig [1] noticed some of the discrepancies, and suggested that the *Pseudolus* really contained two plots : (1) the duping of the old man to get the money; and (2) the duping of the *leno* to get the girl. But other scholars paid little attention to this suggestion. Langen [2] noted a number of difficulties in the plot, without attempting to explain them by *contaminatio*, and Leo [3] confined his hint of two originals in the *Pseudolus* to a foot-note. In 1897, Bierma [4] made a detailed analysis of the play, and this analysis, modified by Seyffert,[5] Leo,[6] and lately by Schmitt,[7] is the basis of work today.

It is evident that the *Pseudolus* does not, like the *Miles* and the *Poenulus*, combine two full plots, but that certain scenes from one plot have been worked into the other. The two plots agree in general features : in both, the difficulties of the young man in love are removed by the clever slave ; in both, the father has received some warning of the slave's plans, and has to pay over a sum of money at the end. The two plots may be sketched as follows : (A) The girl with whom the young man is in love has been sold to a Macedonian soldier ; part payment has been made, and the balance is due on the day that the play opens. The slave outwits the *leno* by getting possession of the soldier's letter, and sending a messenger

[1] Th. Ladewig, *Über d. Kanon des Volcatius Sedigitus*, Neustrelitz, 1842, pp. 32 f.

[2] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, pp. 198 ff.

[3] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 153, n. 2.

[4] J. W. Bierma, *Quaestiones de Plautina Pseudolo*, Groningen, 1897.

[5] Seyffert in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 18 (1898), coll. 1511-1515.

[6] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1903, pp. 347-354.

[7] A. Schmitt, *De Pseudoli Plautinae exemplo Attico*, Strassburg, 1909. (Accessible to me only in a review by M. Niemeyer in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 30 (1910), coll. 870-873).

with it to fetch the girl. The actual cost of the girl is defrayed by the young man's father, who has previously agreed to pay this sum if the slave's ruse succeeds; but he is reimbursed by the *leno*, who has in the meantime promised him twenty *minae* on the same conditions. So the *leno* is ruined, and his fall is all the greater because the scene is laid on his birthday.[8] (B) The young man needs twenty *minae* to pay for the girl, the morrow being the last opportunity. The slave gets this sum by cheating the father, after he has announced his intentions and warned the old man to be on his guard. In the trick (the details of which we can not fill out) he has the help of the father's friend Callipho. To the first plot (A) belong I., 2, 3; II., 2-IV., 8; to the second (B): I., 1 (except ll. 51-59), 4, 5 (except ll. 522-546); V., 2. Plautus himself made some changes; he added ll. 51-59, and 522-546[9] (elements from plot B) to plot A; he combined the two plots in II., 1; and he added V., 1[10] and certain details (*e. g.* l. 1308) in V., 2.

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[8] It is possible that this *motif* had even more prominence in the original. It is emphasized in ll. 165, 167, 179, 234, 243, 1237, and forms the sole connecting link between Act III. and the rest of the play. Cf. Bierma, *De Plaut. Pseud.*, pp. 40 ff., 87 f.; Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1903, p. 352.

[9] The insertion is unskillfully made, and has resulted in some confusion. As the dialogue stands, Simo agrees that if Pseudolus succeeds in *both* plots (*i. e.*, the duping of Simo himself and the duping of Ballio) Simo will pay him twenty *minae*. The original bargain in plot B must have been that Simo would pay the money if Pseudolus succeeded in cheating Ballio. Cf. Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1903, pp. 349 ff.

[10] Hence the double motivation of the entrance of Pseudolus (ll. 1282, 1283), and of Simo's return to the stage (ll. 1239 ff., 1285). Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Cant.*, p. 41, note, in *Abhandl. Gött. Ges.*, 1896-1897.

Expórgi meliust lúmbos atque exsúrgier:
Plautína longa fábula in scaenám uenit.

Prologue (*ll. 1-2*). Both the Ambrosian Palimpsest and the Palatine manuscripts give these two lines, which bear the mark of the Plautine Revival in the phrase *Plautina longa fabula*. (Cf. *Cas.* Prol. 12). A prologue is really unnecessary for the exposition of the *Pseudolus*,[11] and Lindsay [12] therefore concludes that the extant couplet formed the whole of the later stage-manager's introduction. But though the play may be perfectly clear without the prologue, the prologue in its present form is far from clear. The comparative *melius* (l. 1) demands as least an implied positive, and there is no expressed subject for the infinitives *expergi* and *exsurgier*. The extant prologue must therefore have been preceded by several lines, and it was probably followed by others giving the name of the *Plautina fabula* and making the usual request for quiet.[13]

P prefixes the prologue to Argument I. (omitting Argument II.). A places the prologue immediately before Scene I. (omitting Argument I. and giving Argument II. in a later hand).

PS. 'Nunc nóstri amores, móres, consuetúdines, 64
Iocus lúdus, sermo, suáui[s]sauiátio, 65
Compréssiones ártae amantum cómparum,
Tenerís labellis mólles morsiúnculae,
Nostrorum orgiorum * s * * * iúnculae, 67b
Papíllarum horridulárum oppressiúnculae:
Harúnc uoluptatum míhi omnium atque itidém tibi
Distráctio, discídium, uastitiés uenit. 70

[11] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 196.
[12] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 1, note a.
[13] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 197.

67[b]. The verse, as Löwe [14] noted when he tried to reconstruct its reading from the Palimpsest, is not appropriate here, for it inserts a phrase of general nature in a list of specific details. He likewise objected to the word *orgia,* which does not appear elsewhere in Roman literature before Catullus. Leo [15] surmised that the line might be a later addition to l. 64, and this hypothesis is possible, although in the broken state of the text it is hard to reach definite conclusions.

P omits 67[b].

Nempe íta animati | éstis uos: uincítis duritia hoc átque me 151
Hoc sís uide ut alias rés agunt. hoc ágite, hoc animum aduórtite.
Huc ádhibete auris quae égo loquar, plagígera genera | hóminum.
Numquam édepol uostrum dúrius tergum érit quam terginum hóc meum.
Quid núnc? doletne? em síc datur, siquís erum seruos spérnit. 155
Adsístite omnes cóntra me et quae lóquar aduortite ánimum.

151-156. Even the general wordiness of Ballio's speech does not excuse the three commands to pay attention (ll. 152, 153, 156) in so brief a space. *Vincitis duritia hoc* [*terginum*] *atque me* (l. 151), and *numquam edepol vostrum durius tergum erit quam terginum hoc meum* (l. 154), have the same idea at base, though the turn given to it is different ; and the two lines are intolerable together. *Hoc* (l. 151) must mean *terginum* (cf. l. 154), and though the action on the stage probably helped to make the sentence clear, still the postponement of the noun is at least noticeable. There are two cases of verbal

[14] G. Löwe, *Analecta Plautina,* Leipzig, 1877, pp. 153 ff.
[15] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

repetition: 152 *animum advortite*, cf. 156 *advortite animum;* 153 *quae ego loquar*, cf. 156 *quae loquar*. Therefore it seems possible that we have two versions : (1) 151-153 ; (2) 154-156. Of these, the second is probably Plautine, for the phrase *contra me* (l. 156) to which Lorenz [16] objected, is paralleled in *Pers.* 13, and the clearness of l. 156, as opposed to l. 151, together with the play on *tergum . . . terginum*, counts in its favor.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
A has the whole passage, but puts 153 after 154.

Tíbi hoc praecipio ut níteant aedes: hábes quod facias: própera, abi intro. 161
Tú esto lectistérniator. tú argentum eluito, ídem exstruito.
Haéc, quom ego a foró reuortor, fácite ut offendám parata.
Vórsa sparsa, térsa strata, laútaque unctaque ómnia uti sint.
Nam mi hódie natalís dies est: decet éum omnis uos concélebrare. 165
Pernám callum glandíum sumen facito ín aqua iaceant. sátin audis?
Magnífice uolo me uíros summos accípere, ut mihi rem essé reantur.
Intro ábite atque haec cito célebrate, ne móra quae sit, cocus quóm veniat [mihi].

166. This verse breaks the close connection between l. 165 and l. 167, and is quite out of place here under any circumstances. Ballio has finished his individual commissions in l. 162, and ll. 163-168, with the sole exception of l. 166, are general directions in the plural.[17]

The line is given in both A and P.

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[16] A. Lorenz in *Philol.* 35 (1876), p. 159.
[17] Cf. H. Usener in *Index schol. Gryphiswald.*, 1866. pp. 13 ff.

† Xýtilis, face ut ánimum aduortas, quoíus amatorés oliui 210
Dýnamin domi habent máxumam:
Sí mihi non iam huc cúlleis
óleum deportátum erit,
Te ípsam culleo égo cras faciam ut déportere in pérgulam.
íbi tibi adeo léctus dabitur, úbi tu hau somnum cápias, sed ubi 215
Vsque ad languorém —: tenes
Quó se haec tendant quaé loquor.
Aín, excetra tu, quaé tibi amicos tót habes tam probe óleo onustos?
Num quoípiamst hodié tua tuorum ópera conseruórum
Nítidiusculúm caput? aut num ipse égo pulmento utór magis 220
Vnctiusculó? sed scio, tu | óleum hau magni péndis: uino
Té deu[i]ngis. síne modo:
Réprehendam ego cuncta hércle una opera, nísi quidem tu hodie ómnia
Fácis effecta haec út loquor.

210-224. As the text stands, this whole passage is addressed to Xytilis. The length of the tirade is quite out of proportion to the speeches addressed to the other *meretrices* (ll. 188-193 ; 196-201 ; 225-229). The sense of ll. 210 f. is repeated in l. 218, and the threats of ll. 222-224 are an anticlimax after ll. 212-217. It is possible that ll. 218-224 are a second version, intended to avoid the brutality of ll. 210-217.[18]

The passage has the same form in A and P.

PS. Hóc ego oppidum ádmoenire ut hódie capiatúr uolo. 384
Ád eam rem usust hóminem astutum dóctum, cautum et cálli-dum, 385
Qui ímperata ecfécta reddat, nón qui uigilans dórmiat.
CA. Cédo mihi, quid és facturus? PS. Témperi ego faxó scies.

[18] E. Norden in *Rhein. Mus.* 49 (1894), pp. 197 ff.

Nólo bis iterâri: sat sic lóngae fiunt fábulae.
CA. óptumum atque aequíssumum oras. PS. Própera. adduc
hominém cito.
⟨CA.⟩ Paúci ex multis súnt amici, hómini qui certí sient. 390
PS. Égo scio istuc: érgo utrumque tíbi nunc dilectúm para
Átque ex multis éxquire illis únum qui certús siet.
⟨CA.⟩ Iám hic faxo aderit. PS. Pótin ut [h]abeas? tíbi moram
dictís creas.

385-386. The end of this scene is almost hopelessly confused. The request of ll. 385-386 is repeated in ll. 724-728, where it is much more in place ; for Pseudolus has by that time gained possession of the letter and has formed a plan in which he needs the help of a clever rogue. The reflection of Calidorus (l. 390) and the response of Pseudolus (ll. 391 f.) sound as if Pseudolus had really asked, not for a rogue, but for a trusty friend; and ll. 697f., spoken when Calidorus brings in his friend Charinus, agree with this interpretation:

Pseudolus mihi ita imperavit, ut aliquem hominem strenuom
Benevolentem adducerem ad se.

Ll. 385-386, then, are inappropriate in their present position. It seems possible that they were made up on the model of ll. 724 ff., and got into this position by mistake, crowding out a bit of the original dialogue, in which Pseudolus asked for the aid of a friend.

The passage has the same form in A and P.

PS. Atque égo me iam pridem hufc daturum díxeram 406
Et uólui inicere trágulam in nostrúm senem:
Verum ís nescioquo pácto praesensít prius.

406-408. The vague allusion of these verses is not

explained by anything in the earlier scenes of the *Pseudolus,* and the difficulty is not materially lessened by the assumption of *contaminatio.*[19] It seems probable that the passage is a later insertion, suggested by ll. 421-422 :

SI. Si dé damnoseis aût si de amatóribus 415
Dictátor fiat núnc Athenis Átticis,
Nemo ánteueniat fílio credó meo.
Ita núnc per urbem sólus sermoni ómnibust,
Eum uélle amicam líberare et quaérere
Argéntum ad eam rem: hoc álii mihi renúntiant
Atque íd iam pridem sénsi et subolebát mihi, 421
Sed díssimulabam. PS. Iám illi fe * * fílius:
Occísast haec res, haéret hoc negótium.

One notices the repetitions : 406 *iam pridem,* cf. 421 *iam pridem ;* 408 *praesensit,* cf. 421 *sensi ;* and the fact that *huic* (l. 406) has no antecedent.

The passage occurs in both A and P.

PS. Vin étiam dicam quód uos magis mirémini? 522
CA. Studeo hércle audire: nám ted auscultó lubens.
SI. Agedúm: nam satis lubénter te auscultó loqui. 523[b]

523[ab]. These verses are clearly doublets. Abraham[20] has shown conclusively that the second is un-Plautine. *Auscultare* in Plautus never takes a complementary infinitive, and is never joined with an adverb, but always with an adjective; *agedum* is never used alone, but always with another imperative; and *satis lubenter* does not occur elsewhere in Plautus. The intention of the author

[19] Bierma's explanation. Cf. *De Plaut. Pseud.,* pp. 38 f., 56 f.
[20] W. Abraham, *Studia Plautina,* Leipzig, 1884, pp. 182 ff.

of the line may have been either to supply a variant for l. 523[a], or to add another verse, and so give both the old men speaking parts.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
A *deest* 2 sheets = 76 ll.
A *deest* 477-551 = 77 ll. (including 523[b] and 543[b]).
Therefore A probably omitted 523[b].

Concédere aliquantísper hinc mihi intrô lubet. 571
Dum cóncenturio in córde sycophántias.
* * * * * nón ero uobís morae. 573[a]
Tibícen uos intéribi hic delectáuerit. 573[b]

573[a]. The beginning of l. 573[a] is lost in the Palimpsest, but enough is left to show that it contained much the same announcement as ll. 571-572. *Interibi* (l. 573[b]) must, as Baier [21] points out, refer not to the line immediately preceding, but to *dum concenturio* (l. 572). Therefore l. 573[a] is probably due to *retractatio*, its object being to announce clearly the return of Pseudolus in the next scene.

P omits 573[a].

Séd iam satis est philosophatum: nímis diu et longûm loquor 687
Di immortales, aûrichalco cóntra non carûm fuit
Meûm mendacium, hîc modo quod súbito commentûs fui,
Quía lenonis mé esse dixi. nûnc ego hac epístula 690
Trís deludam. erum ét lenonem et qui hánc dedit mihi epístulam.
Eúge: par pari áliud autem quód cupiebam cóntigit:
Vénit eccum Calidórus: ducit néscioquem secûm simul.

688 ff. The exultant *di immortales*, with which l. 688 begins, echoes l. 667, and the tone of the next few

[21] B. Baier. *De Plauti Fab. Recenss.*, p. 128.

lines is what we should expect at the beginning of a speech. This is particularly strange, because Pseudolus has just announced (l. 687): *sed iam satis est philosophatum.* Leo [22] therefore advances the plausible theory that the speech of Pseudolus originally consisted of ll. 667-687 *sed iam satis est philosophatum,* followed by 690 *nunc ego hac epistula* -693; then ll. 688-690 *quia lenonis me esse dixi* were substituted for the early part of this scene; and the editor who combined the two versions, finding a vacant half line at the end of l. 687, supplied *nimis diu et longum loquor.*

The passage has the same form in A and P.

CA. Dúlcia atque amára apud te sum élocutus ómnia: 694
Scís amorem, scís laborem, scís egestatém meam.
CH. Cómmemini omnia: íd tu modo me quíd uis facere fác sciam. 696ª
[CA. Quom haec tibi alia sum elocutus uis scires si scis de symbolo.
CH. Omnia inquam tu modo quid me facere uis fac ut sciam.] 696ᵉ

*696*ᵇᵉ. These two lines, which are in part a verbal repetition of ll. 694-696ª, seem to offer an alternative version: 694 *apud te,* cf. 696ᵇ *tibi;* 694 *sum elocutus,* cf. 696ᵇ *sum elocutus;* 696ª *omnia,* cf. 696ᵉ *omnia;* 696ª *tu modo me quid vis facere fac sciam,* cf. 696ᵉ *tu modo quid me facere vis fac ut sciam.* The *symbolum* which is introduced so abruptly here (l. 696ᵇ) could have had no special significance for the story of Calidorus, though it was of importance in the trick that Pseudolus planned

[22] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

to play. The purpose of the alteration may have been to emphasize this detail.

A omits 696^{bc}

SI. Vissó quid rerum méus Vlixes égerit, 1063
Iamne hábeat signum ex árce Balliónia.
BA. O fórtunate, cédo fortunatám manum. 1065
SI. Quid ést? BA. Iam — SI. Quid iam? BA. Níl est quod metuás. SI. Quid est?
Venítne homo ad te? BA. Nón. SI. Quid est igitúr boni?
BA. Minaé uiginti sánae et saluae súnt tibi,
Hodié quas aps te⟨d⟩ést stipulatus Pseúdolus. 1069

* * * * * * * * *

SI. Sed cónuenistin hóminem? BA. Immo ambó simul. 1079
SI. Quid aít? quid narrat? quaéso, quid dicít tibi? 1080
BA. Nugás theatri: uérba quae in comoédiis
Solént lenoni díci, quae puerí sciunt:
Malum ét scelestum et péiurum, aibat ésse me.
SI. Pol haú mentitust. BA. Érgo haud iratús fui.
Nam quánti refert eí nec recte dícere, 1085
Qui níl⟨i⟩ faciat quíque infitias nón eat?

1079-1086. These lines were suspected of being due to *retractatio* by Kiessling,[23] in 1868, and have been bracketed by most editors since then. The question of l. 1079 is a surprise after l. 1067, and the answer an absolute contradiction. The sense of the two questions is the same; for Simo is evidently referring, not to the meeting with Pseudolus in I., 3, which Ballio describes, but to a meeting in which Pseudolus might have tried to trick Ballio. So l. 1079 repeats l. 1067, and the whole passage is probably a later addition.

A and P give the passage in the same form through 1084—then A *deest.*

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[23] A. Kiessling in *Rhein. Mus.* 23 (1868), pp. 425 f.

Heús, ubi estis uós? ⟨BA.⟩ Hicquidem ad me récta habet
rectám uiam. 1136
⟨HA.⟩ Heús, ubi estis uos? ⟨BA.⟩ Heús, adulescens, quíd istic
debetúr tibi?
Béne ego ab hoc praedátus ibo: nóui, bona scaeuást mihi.
⟨HA.⟩ Écquis hoc aperit? ⟨BA.⟩ Heús, chlamydate, quíd istic
debetúr tibi?
⟨HA.⟩ Aédium dominúm lenonem Bállionem quaérito. 1140

1137. L. 1137, which combines l. 1136 and l. 1139, was probably intended as a substitute for ll. 1136, 1138-1139. If l. 1137 were genuine, we should expect it to be followed, not by another aside by Ballio (l. 1138), but by the answer of Harpax (l. 1140).[24]

Both A and P give l. 1137.

BA. Édepol hominem uérberonem Pseúdolum, ut docté dolum 1205
Cómmentust: tantúndem argenti quántum miles débuit
Dédit huic atque hominem éxornauit, múlierem qui abdúceret. 1207. 1208

1205-1207. An attempt to cut out ll. 1162-1204 may be indicated by the repetition of ll. 1205-1207 after l. 1161.

BA. Quíd agimus? manufésto teneo hunc hóminem qui argentum áttulit. 1160
SI. Quídum? BA. An nescis quaé sit haec res? SI. Iúxta cum ignaríssumis.
BA. Pseúdolus tuos állegauit húnc, quasi a Macédonio
Mílite esset.

A has the passage in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
P has 1205-1207 both after 1161 and after 1204

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[24] The first scholar to suspect the line was Fleckeisen. Cf. Ritschl's Ed. of *Pseud.* (1850), Praef., pp. xiii f.

BA. Édepol ne istuc mágis magisque métuo. quom uerba aúdio. 1214
[BA.] Mihi quoque edepol iám dudum ille Súrus cor perfrigéfacit,
Súmbolum qui ab hóc accepit. mára sunt. ni Pseúdolust.

1214-1216. The first of these verses is the same in sense as the last two, and the word *edepol* is repeated. It is worth noting, also, that the best manuscripts of the Palatine family prefix BA. to l. 1215. Perhaps l. 1214 was substituted by the same reviser who cut out ll. 1162-1204, who accordingly wished to avoid the name *Surus*. (Cf. l. 1203).[25]

The passage has the same form in A and P.

The results of work on the *Pseudolus* are somewhat unsatisfactory. After the undoubted evidences of *retractatio* in the prologue, we expect to find further traces of change in the text of the play. But only ll. 523,[b] 688 ff., 1137 can be put down with any degree of certainty as later versions. In many other places (*e. g.*, ll. 166, 385 ff.), though there is unquestionably something wrong with the text, it is hard to locate the trouble exactly. Certain lines preserved in A alone (ll. 67[b], 573[a]) are probably due to *retractatio*, but are so fragmentary that any statement about them must be qualified. Two passages (ll. 151-156, 210-224) seem to present parallel versions; ll. 406-408 are apparently a later addition; and ll. 1205-1207 were perhaps inserted after l. 1161 to shorten the scene.[26]

[25] Ribbeck suspected the verse. Cf. Ritschl's Ed. of *Mos.* (1851), Praef., p. xv.

[26] In addition to the passages discussed in detail, the following lines of the *Pseudolus* have also been suspected: 65, 82, 91 ff., 97,

In these cases of *retractatio,* possible or probable, the two families of manuscripts are almost evenly balanced. Most passages have the same form in both. A is the only one to preserve ll. 67[b], 573[a]. P alone has ll. 696[bc] and repeats ll. 1205-1207, and A probably omitted l. 523[b] also. But at least the *Pseudolus* shows that A is not a purer text than P.

116, 142, 176, 177, 205-208, 238, 259-263[b], 269, 284, 292-295, 307, 336 f., 384, 398, 403, 422, 467, 485, 497-499, 502 f., 527, 530, 543[b], 544, 550, 565 f., 576 f., 585[b], 586, 599, 600, 737-750, 759-766, 767-904, 768, 781 f., 842 f., 866-889, 936-939[b], 944, 1002-1008, 1025-1031, 1043, 1073, 1093, 1097, 1098, 1196, 1204, 1245, 1259-1261, 1277 f., 1314.

These suspected passages are preserved as follows: A *deest:* 238, 259-263[b], 485, 497-499, 502 f., 527, 530, 543[b], 544, 550 737-750, 759-766, 767-904, 768, 781 f., 1025-1031, 1043, 1093, 1097, 1098, 1259-1261, 1277 f. Both A and P have 65, 82, 91 ff., 97, 116, 142, 176, 177, 205-208, 269, 284, 307, 336 f., 384, 398, 403, 467, 565 f., 576 f., 585[b], 586, 599, 600, 842 f., 866-889, 936-939[b], 944, 1002-1008 (A transposes 1002, 1003), 1073, 1196, 1204, 1245, 1314. A omits 293-295, and places 292 after 296. P omits 422.

The text of the *Pseudolus* shows an unusually large number of slight differences between the two families of manuscripts. Variations of a word or phrase occur in the following lines: 85, 152, 208, 223, 298, 308, 315, 321, 340, 372, 375, 385, 389, 391, 392, 397, 418, 432, 433, 451, 621, 627, 631, 659, 669, 700, 723, 841, 843, 856, 864, 873, 889, 901, 954, 955, 975, 978, 992, 997, 1175, 1204, 1220, 1294, 1295, 1299.

CHAPTER IV.

STICHUS

The opening scene of the *Stichus* introduces two sisters, whose husbands have left home three years before to repair their damaged fortunes, and have not been heard from since. Their father, Antipho, wishes them to marry again, but they firmly refuse. The elder sister, Panegyris, sends for the parasite Gelasimus, explaining that she wishes to dispatch him to the harbor for special tidings. But before he reaches her door, the slave who is regularly on the watch comes from the port with the news that Epignomus and Pamphilippus have arrived. Epignomus and his slave Stichus appear on the stage; Stichus asks for a holiday, and receives permission to go to a banquet with Sagarinus, the slave of Pamphilippus, and Stephanium, who is *amica ambobus*. Then follows a series of scenes in which the parasite makes desperate efforts to get an invitation to dinner, but is repulsed, and the two brothers, who have in the meantime become reconciled with their father-in-law and with their wives, plan a banquet together. After this Stichus comes on again, ready for the feast, and through the last six scenes of the play he and his two friends drink and dance and sing.

"Ein rätselhaftes Stück," said Teuffel[1] of the *Stichus*, and the play has remained "a puzzle" to scholars ever

[1] W. Teuffel in *Rhein. Mus.* 8 (1853), p. 38 (=*Stud. u. Char.*,[2] p. 340).

since. All are agreed [2] that the play which we possess is very different from the "ADELPHOE MENANDRU" which the *didascalia* names as its source. Ritschl [3] characterized the *Stichus* as "äusserst flüchtig skizzirt," and Leo [4] has said of it in recent years, "Die Teile sind sehr hübsch, das Ganze unmöglich."

The play opens as if it were to hinge upon the faithfulness of two wives to their husbands. The second, third, and fourth acts, in which the husbands return and become reconciled with their father-in-law, are slightly connected with the theme of the first act, though they give much less prominence to the women than we should expect. But in the fifth act all these characters disappear from the stage, and the rest of the play is taken up with the banquet of their slaves.

The slight connection of Act V. with the rest of the play led Goetz [5] to suspect *retractatio,* and Winter [6] even assumed that a later author combined two plays of Plautus to make the *Stichus.* But such composition is not impossible for Plautus himself.[7] We remember that he was sometimes unsuccessful in combining two Greek comedies, and that he sometimes left out important scenes at the close of a play. (Cf. *Cas.* 64 f.; *Cist.* 782 ff.) So the lack of unity in the *Stichus* is not a sufficient reason for denying the play in its present form to him.

[2] W. Süss in *Rhein. Mus.* 65 (1910), pp. 452 ff., tries to prove that the *Stichus* accurately represents the Greek original.

[3] Ritschl, *Parerga,* p. 280.

[4] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 376.

[5] Goetz in *Acta soc. phil. Lips.* 6 (1876), pp. 302 ff.

[6] F. Winter, *Plauti Fabularum Deperditarum Fragmenta,* Bonn, 1885, pp. 82 ff.

[7] Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.,* pp. 150 ff.; Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 377.

Such a lack of unity would, however, have been impossible in the Greek original. Even Aristophanes makes his plays center around one or two principal characters, who take part in the riotous scenes at the end as well as in the earlier action; and the *Persa* of Plautus, which is probably based on an original of the Middle Comedy, preserves the unity of characters through the banquet-scene.[8] From all that we know of New Comedy, and especially of Menander, we can infer that unity of character was still more essential there. Before the discovery of the Cairo papyrus, Wilamowitz declared that Menander could never have joined *humano capiti cervicam equinam:*[9] and we to-day can make the statement even more positively. The fifth act of the *Stichus*, then, must contain some alteration by Plautus, and the passage (ll. 419-453) which prepares for Act V., was probably original with him.[10] We notice that, as the text stands, Stichus remains on the stage after he has been dismissed, and Epignomus waits awkwardly through the entire monologue of Stichus (ll. 436-453). If ll. 419-453 were cut out, the transition would be perfectly easy, and Epignomus would be on the stage for the beginning of the next scene. In other words, ll. 419-453 are a necessary preliminary to Act V. as it stands, but would be quite superfluous in a play which did not end with a merry-making among slaves.

But while we recognize the faulty construction of the play, we are not justified in assuming that Act V. was original with Plautus,[11] or even that its presence here

[8] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, pp. 376 f.

[9] Wilamowitz in *Neue Jahrb.* 3 (1899), p. 516.

[10] Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 152; *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 383.

[11] Süss in *Rhein. Mus.* 65 (1910), p. 453, notes the large number of Greek details in this act.

is due to *contaminatio*. Leo has dissected the *Stichus*[12] and found in it material from three Greek plays: (A) a play on the theme of the faithful wives; (B) a play with a parasite as its central figure; (C) a play furnishing material for the banquet-scene. It is improbable that Plautus used so many different sources as this. The more likely theory is that a single original, the *Adelphoe* of Menander, is the basis of the *Stichus*, but that the plot has been disturbed by omissions, alterations, and additions.[13] In particular, Plautus seems to have changed the last act, perhaps, as Teuffel suggested,[14] substituting a slaves' banquet[15] for the masters' banquet in the original play.

The *Stichus* is unique in showing evidences of *retractatio* in the names of the characters. The elder of the two sisters appears in the text of both A and P (ll. 247, 331) as *Panegyris*, and the same name occurs in the scene-heading of II., 2, in A and in P, and in the heading of I., 1 in P. A, on the contrary, gives her name as *Philumena* in the scene-heading of I., 1. The name of the other sister does not occur in the text, but is given in the scene-heading of I., 1 as *Pamphila* in A, and as *Pinacium* in P. A recent study of the scene-headings in the manuscripts of Plautus[16] has made it evident that

[12] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, pp. 381 ff.

[13] Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgesch.* I., 1^3, p. 91.

[14] Teuffel in *Rhein. Mus.* 8 (1853), pp. 39 f. (= *Stud. u. Char.*,[2] p. 342).

[15] The slaves' banquet followed Greek, not Roman custom. Cf. ll. 446-448.

[16] H. W. Prescott in *Harvard Studies* 9 (1898), pp. 102-108. Cf. Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, pp. 102 f.

the names of the characters as they appear in the scene-headings, do not belong to the direct tradition of the Palatine manuscripts, but were at some period filled in from the text. So the form *Pinacium* (which is apparently due to a misunderstanding of l. 284) has no authority, and the only evidence to be considered is that of P and A in the text, and of A in the scene-headings. From this evidence we may infer that *Panegyris* was the original name of the elder sister, and that the change to *Philumena* was made for a later production. As to *Pamphila*, there may be some doubt. Since this sister is nowhere named in the text, there is no direct evidence against the name, but it is open to suspicion, because it appears in company with *Philumena* in A.

PAN. Credo ego miseram fuisse Penelopam.
Soror, suo ex animo, quae tam diu uidua
Viro suo caruit: nam nos eius animum 2ᵇ
De nóstris factis nóscimus, quarúm uiri hinc apsunt,
†Quorúmque nos negótiis apséntum, ita ut aequomst,
Sollícitae noctes ét dies, sorór, sumus semper. 5
PA. Nostrum ófficium nos fácere aequomst:
Neque id magis facimus quam nós monet pietas.
Sed hic. méa soror, adsídedum: multâ uolo tecum 7ᵇ
Loquí de re †uiri ⟨PAN.⟩ Saluéne, amabo?
PA⟨N.⟩. Speró quidem et uoló. sed hoc, soror, crúcior:
Patrém tuom meúmque adeo, unice qui únus 10. 11
Ciuíbus ex omnibús probus perhibétur,
Eúm nunc inprobí uiri officio úti, 13. 14
Viris qui tantas apséntibus nostris 15
Facit iniurias inmérito
Nosque áb eis abducére uolt.
Haec rés uitae me. sóror. saturant.
Haec mihi diuidiae et sénio sunt.
PA⟨N.⟩ Ne lácruma. soror. nec túo id animo 20
Fac quód tibi [tuos] pater faceré minatur.
Spes ést eum melius fácturum.

Noui égo illum: ioculo istaéc dicit:
Neque illé sibi mereat Pérsarum
Montís qui esse aurei pérhibentur,
Vt istúc faciat quod tú metuis.
Tamen sí faciat minume írasci
Decet: néque id immerito euéniet.
Nam uíri nostri domo ut ábierunt,
Hic tértius⟨t⟩ annus — ⟨PA.⟩ Ita út memoras.
⟨PAN.⟩ Quom ipsi ínterea uiuánt, ualeant,
Vbi sínt, quid agant, ecquíd agant,
Neque párticipant nos néque redeunt.
⟨PA.⟩ An id dóles, soror, quia illi suom ófficium
Non cólunt, quom tu tuom fácis? PAN. Ita pol.
PA. Tace sís: caue sis audíam ego istuc
Posthác ex te. PAN. Nam quíd iam?
PA. Quia pól meo animo omnis sápientis
Suom offícium aequomst colere ét facere.
Quam ob rem égo te hoc, soror, tam etsí's maior,
Moneo út tuom memineris ófficium:
Et siílli improbi sint átque aliter
†Nos fáciant quam aequomst, tám pol
†Nequid magis sit omnibus obnixe opibus
Nostrum ófficium meminísse decet.
PAN. Placet: táceo. PA. At memineris fácito.
(⟨PAN.⟩ Nolo égo, soror, me crédi esse inmemorém uiri:
Neque ille eós honores míhi quos habuit pérdidit.
Nam pól mihi grata accéptaque huiust benígnitas:
Et mé quidem haec condício nunc non paénitet
Nequést quor [non] studeam has núptias mutarier.
Verúm postremo in pátris potestatést situm:
Faciéndum id nobis quód parentes ímperant.
⟨PA.⟩ Scio átque in cogitándo maerore aúgeor:
Nam própe modum iam osténdit suam senténtiam.
⟨PAN.⟩ Igitúr quaeramus nóbis quid facto úsus sit.)

48-57. This passage was one of the first in Plautus to be suspected of dittography. It gives, in briefer form and in dialogue-verse, the substance of the preceding *canticum*. It must therefore be considered a variant for the lyrical passage, probably introduced in order to dispense with the musical accompaniment. The author

seems to have contented himself with presenting the general situation of ll. 1-47, without attempting to explain it in detail (there is no direct statement, *e. g.*, of the father's plan to give his daughters in marriage again). On the other hand, he has borrowed the idea of ll. 53, 57 from the following scene (ll. 68 ff.).

A omits 48-57.

⟨AN.⟩ Príncipium ego quo pácto cum illis áccipiam. id ratiócinor:
Vtrum ego perplexím lacessam orátione ad húnc modum,
Quási numquam quicquam ádeo adsimulem. an quási quid indaudíuerim
Eás in se meruísse culpam: an pótius temptem léniter
Án minacitér. scio litis fóre: ego meas noui óptume.
Sí manere hic sése malint pótius quam alio núbere,
Nón faciam: quid mi ópust decurso aetátis spatio cúm ⟨m⟩eis
Gérere bellum, quóm nil quam ob rem id fáciam me ruisse árbitror?
Mínume: nolo túrbas. sed hoc mihi óptumum factu árbitror.
Síc faciam: adsimulábo quasi quam cúlpam in sese admíserint:
Pérplexabilitér earum hodie pérpauefaciam péctora.
Póstid † agam igitur deínde ut animus méus erit faciám palam.
Múlta scio faciúnda uerba: ibo íntro. sed apertást foris.

75-83. The order of these verses is confused in P, and the whole passage is full of difficulties. Langen [17] notes the peculiar use of *perplexim* (l. 76), which must refer only to *quasi quid indaudiverim Eas in se meruisse culpam* (ll. 77 f.), and not to *quasi numquam quicquam adsimulem* (l. 77); the unusual construction *eas in se meruisse culpam* (l. 78); the position of *potius* in the first instead of the second alternative clause (ll. 78 ff.);

[17] Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung des Plautus*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 147 ff.

and the adverb *minaciter* (l. 79), not found elsewhere in Plautus. Langen rejected altogether about one-third of ll. 75-79, and rearranged the rest; Leo [18] thought that l. 79 was an interpolation, and *leniter* (l. 78) a corruption for *saeviter*.

The large number of repetitions from the verses immediately preceding and following is noticeable also; 76 *perplexim* (a very rare form), cf. 85 *perplexabiliter;* 77 *adsimulem*, cf. 84 *adsimulabo;* 77 *quasi quid indaudiverim Eas in se meruisse culpam*, cf. 84 *quasi quam culpam in sese admiserint;* 79 *ego meas novi optume*, cf. 73 *novi ego nostros;* 81 *non faciam*, cf. 84 *sic faciam*.

The content of the verses does not in itself suggest *retractatio*, but the confusion in the manuscripts, combined with the many irregularities in construction, makes one suspect that ll. 75-83 (or at least 75-79) are by a later hand.

A has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
P has the order: 80-83; 75-79; 70-74.

GE. Famem égo fuisse súspicor matrém mihi: 155
Nam pŏstquam natus súm, satur numquām fui.
Neque quĭsquam melius réferet matri grātiam,
(Quam egŏ matri meaé refero inuitíssumus.)
Neque réttulit quam ego réfero meae matrí Fami. 158^b

157 ff. There are here, as Seyffert recognized,[19] two versions:

(1) 157 Neque quisquam melius referet matri gratiam
158^a Quam ego matri meae refero invitissimus;

[18] Leo, *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1895, p. 420, n. 3; Ed. (1896), *ad loc.; Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 377.
[19] Seyffert, *Studia Plautina*, Berlin, 1874, p. 11, n. 10.

(2) 157 Neque quisquam melius referet matri gratiam
158[b] Neque rettulit quam ego refero meae matri Fami.

Of the two forms of the second line, 158[b] has most often been taken as the genuine. It is less awkward than 158[a], and the citation by Charisius of *fami* in the dative, from the *Stichus* of Plautus, proves that 158[b] occurred in his sources, and that Charisius himself, writing in the fourth century A. D., regarded it as genuine.

A has 157, 158[a]—*i. e.*, preserves the first line of the couplet, and the substitute verse for the second.
P omits 157, but has 158[a], 158[b]—*i. e.*, omits the first line of the couplet, but preserves both versions of the second line.

Nam illa mé⟨d⟩ in aluo ménses gestauít decem: 159
At égo illam in aluo gésto plus annós decem. 160
Atque illa puerum mé gestauit páruolum.
Quo mínus laboris cépisse illam exístumo:
Ego nón pausillulam ín utero gestó famem,
Verum hércle multo máxumam et grauíssumam.
Vterí dolores †míhi oboriuntur cotídie: 165
Sed mátrem parere néqueo nec quid agám scio.

160 ff. The position of ll. 165-166, between ll. 160, 161 in A, may perhaps indicate a shortening by the omission of ll. 161-164.[20]

A places 165, 166 after 160.
P has the verses in proper order.

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†Auditaui saépe hoc uolgo dícier, 167
Solére elephantum gráuidam perpetnós decem
Esse ánnos: eius ex sémine haec certóst fames:
Nam iám complures ánnos utero haerét meo. 170

167-170. The parasite's account of himself and his

[20] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 55.

mother comes to a suitable close in l. 166. Then ll. 167-170 add a new and hardly consistent thought, and l. 170 is particularly objectionable because *complures annos* repeats, in weaker form, the *plus annos decem* of l. 160. It is possible, therefore, that these verses are a later insertion,[21] made in order to expand the coarse wit of the passage.

The passage appears in both A and P.

Gelásimo nomen míhi indidit paruó pater, 174
Quia inde iam á pausillo púero ridiculús fui. 175
Proptér pauperiem hoc ádeo nomen répperi,
Eo quía paupertas fécit ridiculús forem:
Nam illa ártis omnis pérdocet, ubi quem áttigit.

174 ff. Gelasimus gives two explanations for his name: (1) that his father gave it to him because he was a droll child; (2) that he received the name because poverty taught him to be witty. A connection between these two thoughts,[22] though possible, is rather strained, and it seems more likely that we have here two parallel versions: (1) ll. 174-175; (2) ll. 176-178.

A and P both contain the whole passage, in the order: 174, 176, 175, 177, 178.

Dicam aúctionis caúsam, ut damno gaúdeant — 207
Nam cúriosus némost quin sit máleuolus —:
[Ipse égomet quam ob rem | aúctionem praédicem:] 208ᵇ
Damna éuenerunt máxuma miserő mihi.

208ᵇ. The verse is impossible after *dicam auctionis*

[21] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 372; Leo, *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 379.

[22] Cf. Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 76.

causam (l. 207), but is probably to be regarded as an interpolation, explaining l. 207, rather than as *retractatio*.

A omits 208[b].

Haec uéniisse iám opus est quantúm potest, 232
Vt décumam partem | Hérculi pollúceam. 233. 234

232, 233. These verses occur in A after 208[a] as well as in their proper place. The repetition may indicate that the scene was to be shortened by omitting ll. 209-231.[23]

A (which omits 208[b]) inserts 232. 233 between 208[a] and 209. P has 208[a], 208[b], 209 ff.

ST. Iam hercle égo per hortum ad amícam transibó meam. 437
Mi hanc óccupatum nóctem: eadem sýmbolam
Dabo ét iubebo ad Sá[n]garinum cenám coqui.
Aut égomet ibo atque ópsonabo opsónium. 440
Sa[n]gárinus scio iam hic áderit cum dominó suo
Seruós homo: qui ⟨ni⟩s⟨i té⟩m⟨p⟩er⟨i a⟩d cenam meat,
Aduórsitores pól cum uerberibús decet
Dari, úti eum uerberábundum abducánt domum.
Paráta res faciam út sit. egomet mé moror. 445
Atque íd ne uos mirémini, hominis séruolos
Potáre, amare atque ád cenam condícere:
Licet haéc Athenis nóbis. sed quom cógito,
Potiús quam inuidiam inuéniam, est etiam hic óstium
Aliúd posticum nóstrarum harunc aédium: 450[a]
[Postícam partem mágis utuntur aédium.]
Ea ibo ób̆sonatum atque eádem referam opsónium: 451
Per hórtum utroque cómmeatus cóntinet.
Ite hác secundum uósmet: ego hunc lacerŏ diem.

447-445. The end of the scene is unduly protracted, and Stichus announces his departure three times (ll. 440,

[23] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 55; Ed. (1905), *ad loc.*

445, 453) before he finally leaves the stage. His impatience with the delay of Sagarinus, too, is quite out of place here. Baier [24] and Leo [25] are probably right in thinking that this *motif* was taken over from ll. 641-648, where it is much more appropriate, and that ll. 441-445 were inserted at the time of the later production.

P omits 441-445.

GE. Quandó quidem tu ad mé non uis promíttere, 483
(Sed quóniam nil procéssi sat ego hac, fero
Apértiore mágis uia: ita plané loquar.) 485

483-485. The first of these three lines (483), beginning *quando quidem,* and the last two (484-485), beginning *sed quoniam,* are undoubtedly parallel versions. Of the two versions, the second (ll. 484-485) is the more subtle, and therefore probably the genuine.

P omits 484-485.

ST. (Proin tú lauare própera. SA. Lautus sum. ST. Óptume: 668
Sequere érgo | hac me | íntro. SA. Ego ueró sequor.)
Volo éluamus hódie: peregrina ómnia 670
Relínque: Athenas núnc colamus: séquere me.
⟨SA.⟩ Sequor ét domum redeúndi principiúm placet:
Bona scaéua strenaque óbuiam occessít mihi.

668 ff. The close of this scene seems to have been shortened by the substitution of ll. 668-669 for ll. 670-673.

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
A *deest* 1 sheet = 38 ll.

[24] Baier. *De Plauti Fab. Recenss.*, pp. 123 f.
[25] Leo in *Nachr. Gött. Ges.* 1902, p. 379.

A *deest* 648-681 = 34 ll. + 2 scene-headings (= 4 ll.). Total, 38 ll.
Therefore A probably had 668. 669.

⟨SA.⟩ Tíbi propino. décumum a fonte tíbi tute inde, si sapis. 708
Béne uos: bene nos: béne te: bene me: béne nostram etiam Stéphanium.
Bíbe[s]. si bibis. ST. Non móra erit apud me. SA. Édepol conuiuí sat est: 710
Módo nostra huc amíca accedat: íd abest. aliud níl abest.
⟨ST.⟩ Lépide hoc actumst. tíbi propino cántharum. ⟨SA.⟩ Vinúm tu habes:
Nímis uellem aliquid púlpamenti. ST. Si hórum quae adsunt paénitet,
Níl est. tene aquam. SA. Mélius dicis: níl moror cuppédia.
Bíbe. tibicen: áge siquid agis: bíbendum hercle hoc est: né nega. 715

710-711. These verses disturb the connection equally here and in the position to which Ritschl transposed them (after l. 735). Langen[26] noted also that the use of *mora* (l. 710) in the sense of "delay" was un-Plautine. The couplet seems to be introduced for the purpose of shortening the scene.[27]

P has the verses in the order of the Goetz-Schoell text.
A *deest* 709 to end of play.

The *Stichus* shows no extensive changes due to *retractatio*, but there are traces of slight alterations all through the play, from the name of the elder sister at the beginning to a proposed shortening of V., 4. The changes seem to have affected especially the third scene of the first act. There are a number of passages showing parallel versions, the second version in one case (ll. 48-57) evidently being intended to dispense with musical

[26] Langen, *Beiträge*, pp. 171 ff.
[27] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad. loc.*: *Nachr. Gött. Ges.*, 1902, p. 378.

accompaniment. A shortened version of the close of V., 2 is given, and a couplet (ll. 710-711) is inserted to shorten V., 4. On the other hand, the revisers seem to have made some trivial additions to the original thought (ll. 167-170; 441-445).[28]

The evidence of the *Stichus* is particularly valuable because we can consult both families of manuscripts for nearly all the questionable passages. Only in the case of ll. 710, 711 is it absolutely impossible to tell what A contained; for calculation makes it probable that ll. 668, 669 appeared on a lost page of A. This passage, then, would belong in the same class with ll. 174-178, and with a less certain case of *retractatio* (ll. 167-170), where A and P have exactly the same amount of text. Both P and A have ll. 75-83, though the lines appear in different order; and the mixture in ll. 157 ff. indicates that both the Plautine and the substitute version were at one period represented in both families of manuscripts. There is one place (ll. 48-57) in which P gives a second version not preserved in A, and several cases (ll. 441-445; 483-485; 160 ff.; 232 f.) in which A shows more evidence of *retractatio* than P. The evidence of the *Stichus,* therefore, is decidedly against the theory that A is the purer text.

[28] In addition to the passages discussed in detail, the following lines have been suspected: 84, 118-120, 121-125, 135, 179-180, 225, 294, 321, 330, 387, 425-435, 427-429, 450^{b}, 473-482, 535, 555, 590-591, 681, 684, 746-747.

Of these lines, the evidence of A is lacking for 555, 681, 746-747; A omits 450^{b}; P omits 387, 427-429, 535, 590-591; A and P both have 84, 118-120, 121-125, 135, 179-180, 225, 294, 321, 330, 425-435 (except that P omits 427-429), 473-482, 684.

The following lines show variations of a word or phrase: 76 f., 90, 163, 166, 189, 202, 237, 253 f., 255, 262 f., 282, 342, 350, 373, 374-376, 390 f., 586, 594, 632 f., 640, 688.

CHAPTER V.

TRINUMMUS

The *Trinummus* of Plautus is translated, so the prologue tells us, from the Θησαυρός of Philemon. It is a comedy without female parts (except for the two abstractions who speak the prologue), and without the erotic element which is so prominent in other plays of Plautus. When the play opens, the old man Charmides has gone off on a business voyage, leaving his daughter and his dissolute son in the care of his friend Callicles, with special instructions that a treasure buried in his house be kept intact for the daughter's dowry. In the meantime, the son, Lesbonicus, goes from bad to worse, and finally advertises his father's house for sale. In order to preserve the treasure without betraying the secret, Callicles buys the house. Lysiteles, a young man of exemplary character and good family, and a devoted friend of Lesbonicus, now sues for the daughter's hand, and Callicles feels in duty bound to produce the treasure. So a rogue is hired to play the part of a messenger from Charmides, to bring forged letters for Lesbonicus and Callicles, and a sum of money to serve as the daughter's dowry. Unfortunately for the success of the scheme, Charmides arrives unexpectedly, and meets the supposed messenger in front of his own house. But matters are explained. Lysiteles receives both bride and dower, and Lesbonicus is pardoned, on condition that he take the daughter of Callicles as his wife.

CA. Quíd uenis? 67
ME. Malís te ut uerbis mûltis multum obiûrigem.
CA. Men? ME. Númquis est hic álius praeter me átque te?
CA. Nemóst. ME. Quid tu igitur rógitas tene obiûrigem? 70
Nisi tû me mihimet cénses dicturûm male.
Nam si ín te aegrotant ártes antiquaé tuae 72ª
[Sín ímmutare uís ingenium móribus] 72ᵇ
(Aut sí demutant móres ingeniûm tuom
Neque eós antiquos séruas, ast captás nouos,)
Omnibus amicis mórbum tu incutiés grauem, 75
Vt té uidere audíreque aegrotí sient.

72 ff. Most editors have taken l. 72ᵇ as an explanation of l. 73, or an adscript parallel to it. But l. 73 is perfectly clear without explanation, and l. 72ᵇ is too closely related to it in thought and phrasing to be merely an accidental parallel. We are therefore led to suspect the hand of the *retractator*. The manuscript-reading *sin* can not stand, since the strongly adversative idea which *sin* demands is lacking; and Ritschl's [1] emendation *sive* is therefore probably to be accepted. But Ritschl himself observed that the Plautine conjunction was not *sive*, but *aut si* (the form which we actually find in l. 74), and this fact supports the other evidence against the genuineness of the line. The next two lines (73-74) have been regarded as due to dittography. But they can not be simply an alternative version of l. 72ª, for the first words (*aut si*) are impossible at the beginning of a sentence. Ritschl noted the irregular use of the word *mores*—in the sense of "temperament" instead of "the (proverbially corrupt) morals of the day," as elsewhere in Plautus (cf. ll. 28 ff., 1037, 1045, etc.). But this criticism applies only to l. 74. Without this addition,

[1] Ritschl. *De Interpolatione Trinummi Plautinae.* Bonn, 1844 (= *Parerga*, pp. 513 ff.).

l. 73 is unobjectionable: the conjunction *aut si* is Plautine, and *mores* has its customary meaning. Therefore it seems probable that ll. 72,[b] 74 were inserted as a more emphatic substitute for l. 73.

P has the whole passage.
A omits 72[b].

Nil ést profecto stúltius neque stólidius
Neque méndaciloquiûs neque argutûm magis
Neque cônfidentilóquius neque peiûrius
Quam urbâni adsidui cíues quos scurrás uocant.

200. One would not object so much to the repetition in this passage, were it not that *mendaci-loquius* anticipates the compound *confidenti-loquius* in the next verse, and that the circumlocution with *magis* interrupts the series of simple comparatives.[2] It seems possible that the verse was intended as a substitute for l. 201.

The line occurs in both A and P, but in A has the reading *adeo argutum*, in P *argutum magis*.

⟨PH.⟩ Quí homo cum animo inde áb ineunte aetáte depugnát suo,
Vtrum itane esse máuelit ut eum ánimus aequom cénseat,
Án ita potius út parentis éum esse et cognatí uelint:
Si ánimus hominem pépulit, actumst. ánimo seruit. nón sibi:
Si ípse animum pepulít, dum uiuit, uíctor uictorûm cluet.
Tú si animum uicísti potius quam ánimus te. est quod gaúdeas.
Nímio satiust út opust te ita ésse quam ut animó lubet.
(Qui ánimum uincunt quám quos animus sémper probiorés cluent.)

305-312. Philto is delivering a sermon on the text,

[2] J. Brix, Ed. (1879), *ad loc.*

"Better is he that ruleth his spirit." He generalizes broadly (ll. 305-309) and then makes a personal application to the case of Lysiteles (l. 310). After this he gives a weaker turn to the last statement (l. 311), and then returns to generalization (l. 312), repeating much of the phrasing of l. 310.[3] Bergk [4] was probably right in thinking that the last two lines were an alternative version for ll. 305-310.

The passage has the same form in A and P.

[PH.] ís probust. quem paénitet quam próbus sit et frugí bonae: 320
Qui ípsus sibi satís placet, nec próbus est nec frugí bonae:
Qui ípsus se contémnit, in eost índoles indústriae:
Bénefacta benefáctis aliis pértegito, ne pérpluant.

322. Without l. 322, the speech of Philto makes a very neat antithesis (ll. 320-321), followed by a line of practical application (l. 323). The line which intervenes (322) merely repeats l. 320, and is especially disturbing because it returns to the first half of the contrast after the second is finished.[5]

The line occurs in both A and P.

PH. Quói[us] egestatém tolerare uís? loquere audactér patri. 358
⟨LY.⟩ Lésbonico huic ádulescenti, Chármid⟨a⟩i fílio,
Qui íllic habitat. PH. Quín comedit quód fuit, quod nón fuit? 360
⟨LY.⟩ Ne ópprobra, pater: múlta eueniunt hómini quae uolt. quaé neuolt.
⟨PH.⟩ Méntire edepol. gnáte, atque id nunc fácis haud consuetúdine.

[3] Ritschl, *Parerg.*, pp. 522 ff.
[4] Bergk in *Zeitschr. f. Alt.* 1848, coll. 1137 f. (= *Opusc.* I., p. 17).
[5] Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, pp. 374 f.

Nám sapiens quidém pol ipsus fíngit fortunám sibi:
Eó non multa quaé neuolt euéniunt, nisi fictór malust.
⟨LY.⟩ Múlta illi opera opúst ficturae quí se fictorém probum
Vítae agundae esse éxpetit: sed hic ádmodum adulescéntulust.
⟨PH.⟩ Nón aetate, uérum ingenio apíscitur sapiéntia.
Sápienti aetas cóndimentum. †sápiens aetatí cibust.
Ágedum eloquere, quíd dare illi núnc uis? LY. Nil quicquám, pater:
Tú modo ne me próhibeas accípere, siquid dét mihi.

361 ff. The insertion of l. 369 after l. 361 probably indicates the omission of the moralizing in ll. 362-368.[6]

A inserts 369 after 361.
P inserts 369, 368 after 361.

PH. I hac. Lésbonice, mécum, ut coram núptiis
Dies cónstituatur: eádem haec confirmábimus.
⟨LE.⟩ †Tu istuc cura quod iussi: ego iam hic ero.
Dic Cállicli me ut cónueniat. ST. Quin tu ſ modo.
LE. De dóte ut uideat quíd ⟨o⟩pus sit facto. ST. Í modo.
⟨LE.⟩ Nám cértumst sine dote ha⟨ú⟩d dare. ST. Quin tu ſ modo.
LE. Neque enimílli damno umquam ésse patiar — ST. Ábi modo.
⟨LE.⟩ Meam néglegentiam. ST. ſ modo †o pater
LE. Aequóm uidetur quín quod peccarim — ST. ſ modo.
LE. Potíssumum mihi id ópsit. ST. I modo. LE. ó pater.
Enúmquam aspiciam te? ST. ſ modo, i modo, ſ modo.

582. After Lesbonicus has finally uttered the long-delayed *spondeo* which betroths his sister to Lysiteles, and Philto has left the stage, Lesbonicus remains and resumes the discussion of the dowry—to the great disgust of Stasimus. It is possible that the audience may have grown impatient too, and that consequently l. 582 was

[6] Lindsay in *Amer. Journ. Phil.* 21 (1900), p. 27; cf. *Anc. Edd.*, p. 47; Ed. (1905), *ad loc.*

substituted for the original ending of the scene (ll. 583-601).[7]

A *deest* 568-636.

Ítast amor ballísta ut iacitur: níl sic celerest néque uolat: 668
Átque is mores hóminum moros ét morosos éfficit.
Mínus placet magis quód suadetur: quód dissuadetûr placet. 670
Quom ínopiast, cupiás: quando eius cópiast, tum nón uelis.
(Ílle qui aspellit, ís compellit: ílle qui consuadét, uetat.)

672. The suggestion of Bergk,[8] that l. 672 is a second version of l. 670, has been followed by most editors. Except for the fact that l. 672 has a personal subject, the thought of the two verses is the same, and *ille* (l. 672) must twice be scanned either *ĭllĕ* or *ĭll'*.[9]

A *deest* 672-735.

ME. Homo cónducatur áliquis iam quantûm potest. 765
[Quasi sít peregrinus. CA. Quíd is scit facere póstea?]
Is homo éxornetur gráphice in peregrinûm modum:
†Ignóta facies quaé non uisitáta sit
(Mendácilocum aliquem. CA. Quíd is [i]scit facere póstea?)
†Falsídicum, confidéntem. CA. Quid tum póstea? 770

765 ff. Brix[10] was probably right in bracketing l. 766 as an interpolation. *Quasi sit peregrinus* seems to be merely an explanation of l. 767 *in peregrinum modum*, and *quid is scit facere postea?* is apparently borrowed from l. 769 to fill out the line. But l. 769 presents a reasonably certain case of *retractatio*. The objections

[7] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*
[8] Bergk in *Zeitschr. f. Alt.* 1848, col. 1141 (= *Opusc.* I., pp. 20 f.).
[9] Cf. Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, p. 376; Niemeyer, Ed. (1907), *ad loc.*
[10] Brix, Ed. (1879), *ad loc.* (Brix numbers 770).

which Brix makes to *quid is scit facere postea?* in l. 766 hold equally for it here: the question could properly be asked only when the man had already been found and his ability to carry out the scheme was under discussion. (See *Pseud.* 745 for an instance of *scit* properly used in a similar situation.) Plautus uses *mendaci-loquus* only here and in *Trin.* 200[11] (where, as we have seen, it is also suspicious). The meaning of the word is exactly the same as that of *falsi-dicus*, in the next line, and it is possible that the new compound was introduced in both places (ll. 200, 769) for the sake of novelty.

P omits 769.

[CA.] Sed epístulas quando ópsignatas ádferet, 788ª
[Sed quom óbsignatas áttulerit epístulas] 788ᵇ
Nonne árbitraris tũm adulescentem ánuli
Patérni signum nósse?

788ᵃᵇ. The two lines are unquestionably variants, the second giving the idea "sealed" a little more emphatically. The scansion *attulerīt* may perhaps be explained as the lengthening of a short syllable before the final *metrum* of the line,[12] but it is at all events sufficiently rare to throw suspicion on the line.[13]

A *deest* 774-834.

ME. In húius modi negótio 795
Diéũm sermone[m] tér[r]ere segnitiés nerast:
Quanuís sermones póssunt longi téxier.
Abi ád⟩ then[a]saurum iám confestim clãueulum.

[11] The statement is based on a collection of the adjectives in Plautus made by the Latin Seminary of Bryn Mawr College, 1907-1908.
[12] Cf. Lindsay, Ed. *Capt.* (London, 1900), *Introd.*, p. 42.
[13] Lindsay, *Anc. Edd.*, p. 47; Ed. (1905), *ad loc.*

796, 797. Here again we have two lines which are very similar in meaning. Megaronides might be allowed to repeat himself if he were not at that very moment doing his best to put a stop to the conversation; but as it is, it seems probable that l. 796 is a later version, which borrows much of its phrasing from ll. 806 f.

A *deest.*

CH. Fáciam ita ut uis: ágedum, nomen tuóm primum memorá mihi. 883
⟨SY.⟩ Mágnum facinus íncipissis pétere. CH. Quid ita? SY. Quía, pat⟨e⟩r[em],
Si ánte lucem †ire occipias á meo primo nómine. 885
Cóncubium sit nóctis prius quam ad póstremum peruéneris.
CH. Ópus †factost et uiático ad tuom nómen, ut tu praédicas.
⟨SY.⟩ Ést minusculum álterum quasi †iuxillum uinárium.
⟨CH.⟩ Quíd est tibi nomén, adulescens? SY. Pax, id est nomén mihi:
Hóc cotidiánu⟨m⟩st. CH. Edepol nómen nugatórium: 890
Quási dicas, siquíd crediderim tíbi, 'pax' periisse ílico.

889-891. These three verses appear in P after l. 937. Meier [14] transposed them to their present position, and altered the reading of l. 889 to *quid illud est nomen?* The order of P is manifestly impossible; the inquiry about the name must follow directly after l. 882, before Charmides goes on to ask about the sycophant's *facta et itinera* (ll. 893 ff.). But if ll. 889-891 are preceded by ll. 883-888, the question in l. 889 should be, not *quid est tibi nomen?* but *quid est alterum nomen?* It is possible that the stage-manager of the Revival used only ll. 889-891, substituting *quid est tibi nomen?* for a question about the *minusculum alterum.*[15] If this was the case,

[14] M. H. E. Meier, *Commentatio de Plauti Trinummo*, Halle, 1845, pp. 7 f.

[15] Cf. Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*

the later version must have crowded out the original form of the line.

P has 889-891 after 937.
A *deest* 864-1044.

SY. Hánc me iussit Lésbonico suó gnato dare epístulam
Ét item hanc alterám suo amico Cállicli iussít dare.
CH. Mihi quoque edepol, quom híc nug[ur]latur, céntra nugarí lubet.
Ýbi ipse erat? SY. Bene rém gerebat. CH. Érgo ubi? SY. In Seleúcia.
CH. Ab ipson istas áccepisti? SY. E mánibus dedit mi ipse ín manus.

901. The question and answer of l. 901 anticipate the long dialogue (ll. 928-947) in which Charmides asks his own whereabouts. The shorter answer is really the correct one (cf. ll. 112, 771), but is for that very reason the less likely in the mouth of the sycophant. It is improbable that Charmides would ask the question at l. 901, and then devote so much time to it later, or that he would fail to comment on the inconsistency of the sycophant's two answers. It is much more likely that l. 901 represents another part of the same shortened version which we find in ll. 889-891.

A *deest.*

CA. Quid hoc híc clamoris aúdio ante aedís meas?
CH. O Cállicles, o Cállicles, o Cállicles,
Qualíne amico méa commendauí bona?
CA. Probo ét fideli et fído et cum magná fide:
Et sálue et saluom te áduenisse gaúdeo.
CH. Credo ómnia istaec, sí | itast ut praédicas.
Sed quís istest tuos ornátus? CA. Ego dicám tibi:
Thensaúrum effodiebam íntus dotem fíliae

Tuae quaé daretur. séd intus narrabó tibi
Et hóc et alia: séquere. CH. Stasime. ST. Hem. CH. Strénue
Curre ín Piraeu[u]m atque únum curriculúm face.
Vidébis iam illic náuem qua aduectí sumus.
Iubéto Sa[n]gariónem quae imperáuerim 1105
Curâre ut efferántur, et tu itó simul.
Solútu⟨m⟩st portitóri iam portórium.
Nilést mora⟨e⟩. cit⟨o⟩ ámbula: actutúm redi.
ST. Illíc sum atque hic sum. CA. Séquere tu hac me intró.
CH. Sequor.

1093 ff. The rapidity with which this scene draws to a close is equal to that of certain scenes in the *Persa*. For the audience, to be sure, no explanation of the motives of Callicles was necessary, but it seems incredible that Charmides should rest satisfied with the simple assurance of ll. 1096-1097. Leo[16] is probably right in thinking that P gives only a shortened version of the scene, although we cannot assume, as Ritschl[17] did, that the passage had any fuller form in A.[18]

A *deest* 1079 to end of play.

ST. Hic méo ero amicu⟨s⟩ sólus firmus réstitit 1110
Neque démutauit ánimum de firmâ fide,
Quamquám labores múltos * * * * *
Sed hic únus ut ego súspicor, seruát fidem.
†Ob rem laborem eum égo cepisse cénseo.

1110 ff. There seem to be traces of two versions here: (1) 1110-1112; (2) 1113-1114. As far as we can tell from the mutilated text, the sense of the two passages was about the same, and some of the phrasing is repeated.

[16] Leo, Ed. (1896), *ad loc.*
[17] Ritschl, Ed. (1848), Praef., pp. xxv f.
[18] Studemund's *Apog.*, note on fol. 464v.

A *deest*.
B marks a lacuna after *multos* (1112).

The abundance of *sententiae* and moral reflections in the *Trinummus* makes the play a difficult one for the student of *retractatio*. A sententious line would naturally invite every later poet to try to turn the phrases a little more neatly. On the other hand, even the original author might be open to the same temptation, and might add to a pithy sentence another in slightly different form. Indeed, wordiness and repetition are so characteristic of the moralizing style that it is frequently impossible to say whether a given line is an extension by Plautus himself or by a later author.

The suspicious passages are extremely limited in extent, in no case covering more than half a dozen lines, and generally not more than one or two. The majority are concentrated in certain scenes, especially II., 2 and III., 3. Of the possible variant lines, most are of the moralizing type: 200, 311-312, 322, 672. Dittography also seems to be present in ll. 796 f., 1110 ff.; and almost certainly exists in ll. 72 ff., 769 f., 788[ab]. The transposition of l. 369 seems to indicate the omission of a passage, and ll. 582, 889-891, 901 are probably intended to furnish substitutes for lengthy scenes. It is probable that at ll. 1093 ff. only the shortened version is preserved.[19]

[19] The following lines have also been suspected: 6-7, 18-21, 60, 64, 92, 93, 126, 206-209, 223 ff., 231-232, 248-249, 263, 321, 368, 414-415, 420-424, 427[b], 470, 471, 527-528, 562-568, 587-589, 660 ff., 702, 707-708, 756-762, 764, 792, 808-814, 816, 831, 852, 857-860, 872, 929 ff., 980, 982, 1005, 1033, 1043-1045, 1053-1054, 1130-1131, 1164-1166.

The evidence of A is lacking for 126, 587-589, 702, 707-708, 792, 808-814, 816, 831, 872, 929 ff., 980, 982, 1005, 1033, 1043-1045, 1130-

Unfortunately the *Trinummus* affords slight opportunity for a comparison of the manuscript-tradition. In several of the most certain cases of *retractatio*, sheets are missing from the Palimpsest, and it is impossible to calculate their contents. In most of the others, the reading of the two families of manuscripts is the same. At ll. 361 ff., where both A and P indicate an omission, P has transposed one more line than A. A omits l. 72^b, though it gives the remainder of the suspicious passage, and P omits l. 769, which is almost certainly a later addition. But on the whole, where we can compare A and P, the testimony of the *Trinummus* strongly supports the theory that the two families of manuscripts had a common origin.

1131. 1164-1166. The rest of the passages are preserved in both A and P: 6-7, 18-21, 60, 64, 92, 93, 206-209, 223 ff., 231-232, 248-249, 263, 321 (preserved in B, but omitted in the other Palatine manuscripts), 368 (in different order), 414-415, 420-424, 427^b (in different order), 470, 471, 527-528, 562-568 (except that A *deest* 568 ff.), 660 ff., 756-762, 764 (in different order), 852, 857-860, 1053-1054.

The following lines show minor variations: 52, 61, 70, 186, 214, 238, 256, 328, 339, 351, 537, 660, 842, 1064, 1069, 1078.

CONCLUSION

The five plays which have been discussed in detail show a marked difference both in the amount and in the kind of *retractatio* that they present. By far the most extensive changes, as well as the greatest number of certain examples of *retractatio*, occur in the *Poenulus*. In this play we find a secondary ending of about forty lines; two passages, each of which shows three parallel versions; and numerous others which present two parallels. The *Persa* seems to have suffered shortening, and to have preserved only the shortened version of certain scenes. The *Stichus* has several alternative versions, only one of which is of any length, and a few small additions. The changes in the *Pseudolus* and the *Trinummus* are for the most part confined to single lines. It is evident, therefore, that theories about the general problem of *retractatio* should be based, not on a few selected cases, or even on all the cases in a single play, but on the whole body of text.

However, even the study of five plays has led to some general conclusions. It appears that, on the whole, the *retractatores* made no very important contributions to our text. Even in the second ending of the *Poenulus* they used to a large extent material that Plautus had supplied, and in other cases their debt to him was even greater. *Pers.* 722-734 is a patchwork of Plautine phrases, and *Pseud.* 406-408 is borrowed directly from the next scene. The later poets often seem to have contented themselves with making slight changes in phrasing, either to improve upon the original form of a line

(*Pers.* 704; *Trin.* 788[b]; *Stich.* 158[a]) or to give a more modern turn to an old phrase (*Poen.* 390[b]; *Pers.* 442 f.). The alternative versions sometimes have the effect of shortening the scene, and once, at least (*Stich.* 48-57), there is a change in order to dispense with musical accompaniment. Occasionally a transposition indicates that a wordy passage was to be omitted (*Poen.* 622[b]; *Stich.* 160 ff.; *Trin.* 361 ff.). Such shortenings by means of simple omission generally occur in the body of the scene; alternative versions which are intended to shorten a scene most often occur near the end (*Pers.* 666 ff.; *Poen.* 805; *Stich.* 668 ff.; *Trin.* 582).

The chief object of this investigation, however, has been to determine as far as possible the relation of the Ambrosian and Palatine recensions to the phenomenon of *retractatio*. New light has been thrown upon this question by a study of the five plays in which the Ambrosian Palimpsest is best represented—for any solution must rest primarily upon the evidence of these plays. The discussion has taken up altogether 66 cases of *retractatio*.[1] In 17 of these 66 cases, the evidence of the Palimpsest is absolutely lacking: *Pers.* 460 f.; *Poen.* 98-100; 118-120; 121-128; 214-215; 217-219; 622[b]; 805-808; *Stich.* 710 f.; *Trin.* 582; 672; 788[ab]; 796-797; 889-891; 901; 1093 ff.; 1110 ff. We are therefore reduced to 49 passages on which to base our conclusions.

[1] This summary includes only certain or fairly probable cases of *retractatio*. *Pers.* 467-468; *Poen.* 930-939; *Stich.* 208[b] are excluded, since the difficulty in these passages is probably not to be charged to *retractatio*, and the passages listed in foot-notes under each play are omitted as well. In the summary, the Double Ending of the *Poenulus* (ll. 1315-1422) counts as a single case, but two additional cases are listed from the same portion of the play (ll. 1315 ff.; 1331).

Of these 49, we find 15 preserved (aside from slight verbal differences) in exactly the same form in A and P: *Pers.* 704; *Poen.* 917-929; 1162 ff.; *Pseud.* 166; 210-224; 385 f.; 406-408; 688 ff.; 1137; 1214-1216; *Stich.* 167-170; 174 ff.; *Trin.* 200; 305-312; 322. In 6 other cases it is probable that A, if preserved, would give the passage in the same form as P. These are cases in which the Palimpsest breaks off after giving part of a suspicious passage, or else, even though the text is entirely missing from A, calculation makes it probable that A had the same form as P: *Pers.* 440 ff.; 738 ff.; *Poen.* 504-575; 1315-1422; *Pseud.* 1079-1086; *Stich.* 668 ff. Also, at *Poen.* 389 and 1333 ff. (the latter passage discussed under 1315 ff.), though A has at first omitted one or more lines, part of the verse or the passage in question is added between the lines or in the margin, showing that somewhere in the A-family the passage was given in full form. Altogether, then, we find 23 cases in which the text-tradition of the A-family and the P-family is virtually the same.

Of the remaining 26 cases, some show differences in the amount of text preserved, others in order only, and a few differ both in amount and in order. There are, in all, 8 instances in which A shows evidences of *retractatio* not found in P: *Poen.* 706 ff. (the insertion of 730 after 706, 707, 720, indicating a further omission); 1331 (an alternative for 1330); *Stich.* 441-445 (an addition modeled on ll. 641-648); *Trin.* 769 (a variant for 770); and, less certain cases: *Pseud.* 67^{b} (an addition to l. 64); 573^{a} (likewise an addition); *Stich.* 160 ff. and 208 ff. (transpositions to indicate omission). On the other hand, P presents 5 cases of *retractatio* of which there is no

trace in A: *Pseud.* 523[b] [2] and *Stich.* 48-57, both undoubted examples of later versions; and also *Poen.* 1378-1381 (a proposed shortening); [2] *Pseud.* 696[bc] (an addition); and 1205-1207 (a shortening).

We also find a number of instances in which both families of manuscripts give a parallel version or a shortened scene-ending, but one or the other omits some of the lines. In such cases it must, of course, be assumed that the whole passage originally stood in that family, but that in some way (perhaps through errors due to *homoeoteleuton* or *homoeokatarkton*, or through other forms of carelessness in transcribing) part of it was lost. Thus in *Pers.* 605-610, P omits 608 (a genuine line) and 610 (part of the later version); 666 ff., P omits 671[b]; 722-734, P omits 730; *Poen.* 1042-1053, P gives 1053 only once, whereas A gives it twice; *Stich.* 483-485, P has only the spurious version, A has both. Against these 5 passages in which A gives the fuller form can be ranged 2 in which P is more complete: *Stich.* 157 ff., in which A gives only one (probably the substitute) version for the second line of the couplet, whereas P has both (but omits the first verse of the couplet); and *Trin.* 72 ff., in which A omits 72[b].

In 3 of the cases just mentioned (*Pers.* 666 ff.; *Poen.* 706 ff.; 1042-1053) there is a difference in the order of the lines as well as in their number. There are also 6 passages which show the same text in A and P, arranged in different order: *Poen.* 300-305; the prologue of the *Pseudolus* (which appears in a different position in the two families); *Trin.* 361 ff. (in which P transposes 368 as well as 369); and, in addition to these fairly certain

[2] The contents of A are calculated.

cases, others which are less sure: *Poen.* 1267-1268; *Pseud.* 151-156; *Stich.* 75-83.

On the whole, the difference between the two families of manuscripts in the amount of *retractatio* preserved is slight. In 23 cases out of 49, A and P seem to show the same text-tradition. In 6 additional cases, the only difference is in the order of the lines. A has 8 cases of *retractatio* which P does not give, and P has 5 which A does not give. In 5 cases, though both families of manuscripts show traces of *retractatio*, A gives more text; in 2, P has the fuller form. The few differences that exist indicate, not that A presents the "ipsa verba" of Plautus, and P the "Revival text," but that A, as the older manuscript, has kept more of the "Revival" alterations than P. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the source of A and P was the same; that the two families had originally about the same amount of *retractatio*, but that, in the course of centuries, some lines and passages have dropped out; the Palatine manuscripts, being the later, have naturally lost more than the Ambrosian Palimpsest.

When we try to account for the omission of a passage in one family of manuscripts and its transmission in another, for the confused order of half a dozen lines, or the mutilation of a substitute passage, we find the most satisfactory explanation in Oskar Seyffert's theory that at one time in the history of the common archetype the passages due to the Plautine Revival were adscribed in the margin. Not only is the complete loss of certain passages easier to understand on this hypothesis; but the disappearance of single lines like *Pers.* 610, *Trin.* 72[a], is intelligible, if we assume that the whole passage once stood in the margin and was introduced from there into

the text. It sometimes happens, too, that the spurious passage is preserved in full, but that, in being taken into the text, it has crowded out a genuine line (*Stich.* 157 in P, and probably *Pers.* 668 in A).

Confusion in the order of lines may have arisen in the same way. Twice a substitute passage has been inserted in the wrong place in both A and P: *Pers.* 442 f.; *Pseud.* 385 f.; and twice (in portions of the text for which A is missing) P has put an alternative version in the wrong position: *Trin.* 889-891; 901. The differences of order in A and P (*Poen.* 300-305; *Pseud.* 151-156; *Stich.* 75-83) also point to variants which were written in the margin and were taken into the text at different points.

This investigation of *retractatio* in five plays of Plautus therefore supports the view that the Ambrosian Palimpsest and the Palatine manuscripts were descended from a common archetype; that substitute versions were written in the margin of this archetype; and that the introduction of these marginal adscripts into the text was responsible for the omission of whole passages and of single lines, for differences in order, and for confusion in the genuine text of Plautus.

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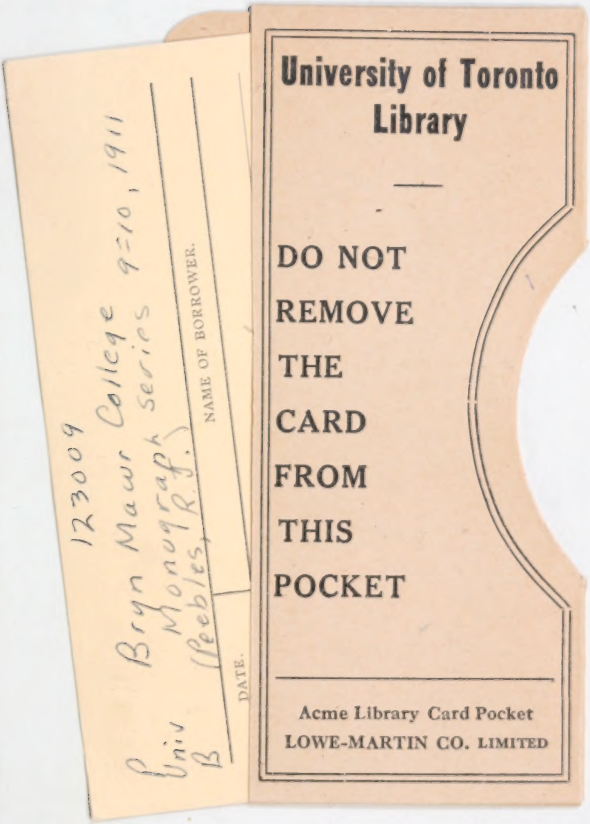
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